

Ran Narayan

POVERTY, CLASS AND
HEALTH CULTURE
IN INDIA

Volume One

Debabar Banerji

prachi
prakashan
NEW DELHI INDIA

10577

CPHE

*Dedicated to my sister Meera Banerji and
my daughters Disha, Anisha and Ipsita*

PRACHI PRAKASHAN
Post Box 3537, (L-3 Lajpat Nagar-III)
New Delhi-110 024, INDIA

First published in 1982

© Debabar Banerji

No part of this book can be reproduced
for commercial use without the prior
written permission of the publishers

Published by A.K. Dash
Prachi Prakashan, New Delhi and
printed at GRAFIQUE, New Delhi

No. 11 E : 25 : 3 : 82

Community Health Cell
Library and Information Centre

359, "Srinivasa Nilaya"
Jakkasandra 1st Main,
1st Block, Koramangala,
BANGALORE - 560 034.
Ph : 2553 15 18 / 2552 5372
e-mail : chc@sochara.org

COMMUNITY HEALTH CELL*Library and Information Centre*

No. 367, Srinivasa Nilaya, Jakkasandra,

I Main, I Block, Koramangala, Bangalore - 560 034.

THIS BOOK MUST BE RETURNED BY
THE DATE LAST STAMPED**Preface**

This report is a study of health behaviour of rural populations in India in the context of various health institutions available and accessible to them and their cultural perceptions and cultural meanings of various health problems. All these considerations are studied together because they form an integrated whole: an interacting sub-cultural complex which has been called "health culture". This concept has made it possible to study diffusion of health culture, introduction of various health programmes from outside as purposive interventions with a view to bringing about a desired change in the health culture of a community. As it is a sub-culture, health culture is also affected by changes in the overall culture of a community, which are mediated by various ecological, social, demographic, economic and political forces.

Nineteen villages have been chosen for this study. They are from Gujarat (two), Haryana (one), Karnataka (three) Rajasthan (two), Tamil Nadu (one), Kerala (two), western Uttar Pradesh (two), central Uttar Pradesh (two) and West Bengal (Four). Primary Health Centres are located within eleven of these villages; one has a sub-centre of a Primary Health Centre and eight have no Primary Health Centre. The study commenced in May 1972 and field work of the first round was completed in all the nineteen villages by February 1975. For each of these villages considerable amount of data were collected, covering a very wide range of issues. On the basis of this experience, it was decided to pay revisits to villages and because of this it was possible to obtain data on crucial areas in a time dimension and also to study the impact of some social and political upheavals that took place in the country during this study. Over 144 revisits have been paid to the villages, with the last one taking place on 28 March 1981.

Presumably because of the methodological approach adopted for collection of data concerning the influence of social, economic and political forces in the shaping of rural life in the study villages and because of some of the far-reaching changes that took place during the study, the author had before him so much of data, of such a rich variety, on so many facets of rural life in India, that it was felt that their significance lay much beyond providing a mere backdrop for studying health culture. It was decided to devote an entire volume to the presentation, analysis and interpretation of these data, with a second volume dealing with details concerning health culture. In spite of devoting an entire volume to the overall social, economic and political background of the study villages through time, very special efforts had to be made to ensure that the report does not become too bulky.

Presentation of the data starts with quantitative data tabulated in Chapter 3, drawing profiles of the study villages in terms of social, economic and political parameters. This provides a backdrop for presentation of qualitative data. In Chapter 4, an attempt has been made to bring together the main issues concerning the study villages and their various forms of institutions. Chapter 5 presents data on relationship between poverty, power and class. Chapter 6 contains a number of "close up" portraits of the poor, along with portraits of other economic segments. Chapter 7 extends the discussions of Chapters 5 and 6 to link up some social dimensions of caste and other religions with issues of class, power and poverty. The pattern of leadership in the villages which exercise informal and formal social and economic control, the various political institutions and political parties are discussed in Chapter 8. Discussions contained in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 are again provided with quantitative dimensions in Chapter 9 in the form of profiles of eight selected groups, along with the total population in terms of the parameters which were employed in the presentation of quantitative data in Chapter 3.

The voluminous data which had been collected in the course of the several revisits have been brought together in Chapter 10. The first part of this Chapter deals with the major social changes broadly related to the entire study population. The

second half deals more specifically with the changes that have taken place in each of the nineteen villages. After presenting the summary and conclusion in Chapter 11, the implications of this study to social sciences in India and to the concept of health culture of rural populations of India are discussed in Chapter 12.

I would like to pay a special tribute to Dr A. Moarefi of the World Health Organisation Headquarters, Geneva. Due to my preoccupation with the development of the newly established Centre for Social Medicine and Community Health, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, I had not been very enthusiastic when Dr Moarefi first mooted the idea of a research project early in 1972.

Dr Moarefi, however, clinched the issue by offering a virtual blank cheque in the form of free choice of the subject for research to fit in with the research perspective of the then budding Centre. Dr Moarefi's efforts had active backing from the higher echelon: Dr A. Helen Martikainen, the then Chief of Health Education Unit, Dr A. Zahra, then Director of the Division of Family Health and Dr H. Mahler, then Assistant Director-General of WHO. While giving the credits to WHO, this organisation cannot in any way be identified with the views expressed in this report for the simple reason that nobody from WHO has ever made even the slightest effort to influence this study.

My gratitude to my university is deeper still. Jawaharlal Nehru University not only enabled me to have complete academic freedom and all the time I needed to devote to the research, but also helped with funds and administrative support. But for this, I would not have been able to present this report.

I am thankful to the investigators : Dr V.S. Bhooma Devi, M.A., PH.D., Shrimati Kalpana Majumdar (nee Dutta), M.A., Shri R.N. Lahiri, B.Sc., Shri N.P. Sankaranarayana Rao, M.A., Shri R.P. Singh, M.A., Shri Bharat Singh Rathore, M.A., Kumari M.A. Seetha, M.A., M.C.H., Dr Lakhan Singh, M.A., PH.D. and Dr S.P. Srivastava, M.A., PH.D. Apart from satisfactorily doing the work assigned to them, most of them had shown considerable courage and dedication in carrying out their work, cheerfully facing the many trying conditions. They have carried out their work in torrential rains and stiflingly humid climate of West

POVERTY, CLASS AND HEALTH CULTURE

Bengal and Kerala and in the severe winters and summers of north India; they had to travel in public transport vehicles under almost impossible conditions and put up with acute problems of boarding and lodging in the villages.

The nine-year-long study virtually grew up with the Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health of Jawaharlal Nehru University. I would therefore like to thank every member of the Centre, past and present, for their association with it, in one form or another. Dr Santosh Kumar Sahu has used the concept of health culture for his doctoral studies to examine how far the health culture of Oraon tribals of Orissa changes with changes in access to health services. Dr Sahu has provided considerable assistance in the production of this book. Dr Imrana Qadeer came to my rescue when I was having difficulties in finding facilities for processing the quantitative data. Dr Dipankar Gupta, who has joined the Centre recently, offered comments on the last draft. Dr Prabha Ramalingaswami offered her comments and suggestions. Kumari Muni Devi Gupta, Documentation Officer of the Centre, helped with documentation work.

DEBABAR BANERJI

Centre of Social Medicine
and Community Health
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

10 April 1981

Contents

| | |
|--|---------|
| PREFACE | vii |
| <i>Chapter One</i> | |
| INTRODUCTION | 1-3 |
| <i>Chapter Two</i> | |
| THE STUDY | 4-23 |
| <i>Chapter Three</i> | |
| QUANTITATIVE DATA ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILES | 24-35 |
| <i>Chapter Four</i> | |
| THE VILLAGES AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS | 36-53 |
| <i>Chapter Five</i> | |
| POVERTY, POWER AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE | 54-70 |
| <i>Chapter Six</i> | |
| PORTRAITS OF THE VILLAGE POOR AND OTHERS | 71-82 |
| <i>Chapter Seven</i> | |
| CASTE, RELIGIOUS GROUPS AND CLASS | 83-95 |
| <i>Chapter Eight</i> | |
| LEADERSHIP, POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTROL | 96-122 |
| <i>Chapter Nine</i> | |
| QUANTITATIVE DATA ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILES OF SPECIAL CATEGORIES | 123-135 |
| <i>Chapter Ten</i> | |
| SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE VILLAGES DURING 1972-81 | 136-207 |

| | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| Chapter Eleven | 208-212 |
| CONCLUSIONS | |
| Chapter Twelve | 213-227 |
| IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY | |
| TABLES | 229-285 |
| APPENDICES | 287-306 |
| INDEX | 307-310 |

Up-date and Corrigenda

p 181, footnote : Kerala Government fell again on 17 March 1982.

For Haringhata village read Barajaguli throughout the text.

Read 'long' for ong (p. 4 line 5); 'Arun Maity' for Arun Maitry (p. 51 l. 13); 'Rohat' for Rohota (p. 52 ls. 14-15); 'infestation' for infection (p. 56 l. 7); 'leaks' for locks (p. 63 l. 9); 'Pando Kayastha' for Pande Kayastha (p. 90 l. 16); 'deterioration' for determination (p. 111 l. 10); 'a village Panchayat' for the village Panchayats (p. 121 l. 30); 'apart' for a part (p. 128 l. 1); 'the lower classes' for classes (p. 138 l. 8); 'structural' for structured (p. 141 l. 9) and 'the' for their (p. 141 l. 24); 'October 1976' for October 97 (p. 146 l. 17); 'precipitately' for precipitate (p. 152 l. 2); 'Dakshin Duttapara' for Haringhata (p. 154 l. 2); 'not' for that (p. 156 l. 38); 'overall' for yverall (p. 208 l. 14).

Omit 'one side' in line 18 and 'the other side' in line 19 at page 118.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This study has two components. One aspect deals with health culture of rural populations of India. The other deals with poverty, power, class and related issues which profoundly influence the health culture of a population. The second component forms the subject matter of this volume.

All the three terms, "poverty", "class" and "health culture", which constitute the title of the book, have been used in the widest sense. It is not intended to enter into any debate on the semantics or into any controversy over the meaning, interpretation or scope of these terms. They have been used merely as vehicles to describe and discuss certain well specified aspects of the social reality.

As will be discussed in later chapters, the poverty status of a population is defined in terms of the period when an individual is unable to satisfy his hunger, the degrees of poverty being signified by the levels of hunger satisfaction. A population able to get two square meals through eleven months of the year would be classified as less poor than one which is able to get it for only nine months. Poverty is also described taking into consideration its various facets which include the factors which determine it and the various implications that flow from a condition of poverty. Thus a study of poverty covers a wide range of areas, which involve relevant aspects of different ecological, biological, economic, demographic, epidemiological, social, political and cultural factors.

Similarly, the term "class" has not been used within a rigid framework. While its use might sometimes conform to the parameters laid down by Marx, special care has been taken to avoid putting it within a straitjacket. Class categories have been used in terms of degree of poverty, caste and religion and this categorization has been used to study the power structure,

leaderships, political and bureaucratic forces, processes and institutions.

Study of poverty and class in the context of health culture of a population covers a wide range of disciplines. It involves use of concepts and methods of cultural anthropology, sociology, economics, political science, public administration, demography, human ecology and human biology.

The concept of "health culture" has been specifically developed for this study to cover an equally wide range of considerations, which intimately interact with one another to form a sub-cultural complex. Cultural perception of health problems, their cultural meanings and the cultural response to these problems, both in terms of formation of various institutions to deal with various health problems and actual (health) behaviour of individuals or groups, form this sub-cultural complex. Because of its cultural connotation, health culture is subjected to change as a result of cultural innovations, cultural diffusions and purposive interventions from outside to bring about a desired change in health culture. Such a connotation also links it closely with the overall way of life of the community—its overall culture. Health culture also undergoes change with change in the overall culture and any change within it has repercussions on the overall culture. Further, as health problems of a population are usually a function of the latter's ecological background, cultural, economic and social setting and the political structure, it is possible to link once again the entire spectrum of health culture to these issues because health problems form a key factor in the shaping of the health culture of a population.

Because of these very wide and complex discussions of health culture, both in terms of its internal structure and external linkages, this study had to cover a very wide area. It worked out to be a formidable task not only in terms of the study design, but also in terms of data collection, organization, analysis, interpretation, integration and conceptualisation of the issues thrown up by this elaborate process.

Designing this study of a complex system raised three major categories of methodological issues:

1. Definition of the boundaries of the system and its contents.

2. Use of concepts and methods from the concerned disciplines to obtain data on different components of the system as well as on the nature of interaction among them within the boundaries of the system.
3. Developing an understanding of the working of the system as a whole, under different conditions obtainable, both in time and in space.

The study provided new insights into many of the components covering the entire range of the system—the various facets of health culture, poverty, class, caste, religion, power, leadership, political institutions and social and economic control, and so on.

The significance of the data was evident in that they called into question, some of the basic tenets of conventional wisdom held by scholars belonging to different disciplines of social sciences in India in such key areas as poverty, caste, religion, power and political behaviour and social change. By providing additional information on the nature of interaction among such factors in a time dimension of about nine years, it has also been possible to provide considerable depth and some additional perspectives to such key areas.

In view of the above considerations the findings of this study are being presented in two separate volumes. Volume-I is devoted entirely to presentation of socio-cultural, economic and political aspects of poverty and class and their linkages with health and health culture. Volume-II will deal with the different elements of health culture as a subcultural complex.

CHAPTER TWO

The Study

SELECTION OF THE STUDY POPULATION

Variables like rural power structure, nature of the health institutions, response to diseases of various kinds, perception of various aspects of the family planning programme etc. needed to be studied comprehensively and in considerable depth, spanning fairly long periods. While ensuring that vigorous efforts were made to see that the data collected were authentic and in conformity with the requirements of the problem in question, additional efforts were made, within two major constraints of availability of investigators and availability of time, to cover as many villages as possible. Very often insights obtained from a single village reflected the condition of the majority of Indian villages because of the many well-known common denominators like poverty, social inequity, caste structure, poor health services and insanitary living conditions. Nineteen villages chosen from different areas were covered in the study also with a view to obtain data on variations in terms of state, region, quality, quantity, availability and accessibility of health services.

As a Primary Health Centre (PHC) forms the pivot of the government-sponsored rural health service system, location of PHCs was taken as the key determining factor in selection of villages. One category of the villages was those in which a PHC has been in existence for a considerable time. Villages situated 5-10 kilometres away from a PHC formed another. The third category consisted of villages in which there was a sub-centre of a PHC. As a special category, a village was selected for its being among the villages located farthest from a PHC.

Another set of criterion for selection of the villages concerned certain organisational features of the PHC. Only those PHCs which conformed to the standard patterns in terms of population

coverage, number of sub-centres, placement of most of the sanctioned staff and availability of accommodation and transport facilities for the staff, were considered for inclusion in the study. A large proportion of the PHC villages had to be eliminated from consideration, as they did not meet these requirements.

Again, from the villages which had an "eligible" PHC were excluded: (a) those villages which are very close to towns or cities; (b) those covered by a municipality with health services of its own; (c) those markedly different from the rest of the rural population in terms of distribution of caste, religion and occupation; and (d) those which have too large a population say, of 5,000 or above, for conducting such an elaborate study.

There was constraint also on account of the research investigator's inability to communicate with villagers from all areas. The study could include only the villages falling within the linguistic zones of Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam and Tamil. Together, these six languages cover about 85 per cent of the population of the country.

Having given due consideration to the criteria mentioned above, research investigators were allowed to choose villages which were more favourable for their work from logistic standpoints, such as their boards and lodging, transport and communication.

Investigators initially visited the respective state directorates of health services to obtain permission to do the field work and to seek their co-operation to locate the PHC villages which could possibly fulfil the criteria set for this study. They then visited a number of these villages to make an on-the-spot study and collect relevant information. In consultation with the project director, selections were finally made. In most cases, the choice was extremely restricted. Tables 1-3 give a brief description of the selected villages.

These villages cover eight major states—Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu in the south, Haryana and western and central Uttar Pradesh in the north, Rajasthan and Gujarat in the west, and West Bengal in the east. Eleven out of the nineteen are PHC villages; one is a village with a sub-centre; six are within 5-8 kilometres of the respective PHCs; and one is situated as far as 18 kilometres from the PHC.

Together these nineteen villages present a wide panorama of Indian rural life lived in different geographical, climatic and economic, political and cultural conditions, with different cropping patterns, activities of trade and industry, transport and communication services and sources of drinking water. There is divergence not only in political organization, political linkages of the villages at higher levels, their social structure, but also in quality of work of the primary health centres and other government agencies, availability and accessibility of government referral health agencies and availability of other health agencies located within the village and outside.

Because of the very nature of the criteria for selection, most of the villages are from the districts which going by Planning Commission criteria, are relatively more "developed".¹ Again, as the PHC villages are situated at block headquarters, they are certainly among the more "developed" of the 100-150 villages of the block. Thus they provided an opportunity for studying the more advanced sections of the rural population, which have much greater access to services provided by the PHC. In some cases, the inability to meet each and every requirement of the study unwittingly provided valuable additional insights into details relevant to health culture under special circumstances. For example the village Amdanga happened to have five times the average population of Muslims. Arnavali had two and a half times the average proportion of Harijans; the village Pullambadi had a substantial percentage (about 30 per cent) of Christians, mainly Catholic converts from Harijan pockets; and four of them have a relatively high percentage of what are designated as backward castes. In Dakshin Duttapara, Gambhoi, Jadigenhalli and Coyalmannam the backward castes constitute respectively as much as 65 per cent, 57 per cent, 47 per cent and 41 per cent of the population, while the average proportion for the study villages as a whole is 20.8 per cent (Table 8).

One village Yelwal, though situated well in the rural area, is only 16 kilometres away from Mysore city. Proximity of industrial establishments has also influenced the social and economic life of some of these villages. The Haringhata Dairy Farm

¹Ashok Mitra, *India—Levels of Regional Development in India*, Delhi, Manager of Publication, 1955.

in the case of Haringhata, a spun pipe factory and a match factory in the case of Yelwal and a sugar mill and cement factory in the case of Pullambadi have had such an influence.

One village Pazhambalakode has a major co-operative society for weavers. Another village Jadigenhalli has taken to cultivation of grapes as a cash crop, which has greatly affected its economic and social structure.

One PHC village Rohat has, in addition to the PHC, a government-run Unani dispensary. Another non-PHC village, Gambhoi has a government-run Ayurvedic dispensary.

In the Gujarat village Rupal, the investigator had a first hand opportunity to make direct observations on the mobilisation of villagers for a Lok Sabha by-election. This village also provided an opportunity of making a close observation of the Gujarat Navnirman Samiti movement in a village context.

In Yelwal, there was a Harijan doctor-in-charge of the PHC, who was also exceptionally hard working and popular; Rupal had a PHC doctor who had similarly gained popularity among the villagers.

The village of Kamdevpur was found to have earned wide reputation for being the home of a famous mystic faith-healer, drawing clients from urban upper and middle classes, even from far-off Calcutta.

Pullambadi has one privately-run maternity home, a hospital and a leprosy ward run by Catholic missionaries. Another village Coyalmannam has one private homeopathic hospital and a missionary hospital run by Syrian Christians.

In five villages (Kachhona, Sunni, Rohota, Arnavali and Pullambadi), investigators got opportunities for studying in detail the mechanism of mobilising family planning acceptors for mass vasectomy camps.

Outbreak of epidemics, diphtheria in Jadigenhalli and cholera in Pullambadi and Pazhambalakode provided opportunities for collecting data on health behaviour in relation to these epidemics.

In Rohota and Rampura, guinea worm infestation was prevalent in almost an epidemic form. These villages also happen to have a number of opium addicts.

A comparatively high rate of occurrence of certain specific

problems in certain villages, such as leprosy in Pullambadi, induced abortions in Coyalmanam, snake bites and suicide by consuming the pesticide Follidol in Haringhata, Dakshin Duttapara, Amdanga and Kamdevpur, provided opportunities for obtaining interesting details.

DATA REQUIRED

This study required data collection on a very wide range of variables including the following:

Physical aspects of the village, its location, climate, settlement pattern, housing, environmental sanitation, water supply, transportation and communication system, cropping pattern, trade and industries;

Organization of the village population, its historical background, population and its distribution, households, castes, religion, class, occupation, literacy and political and social institutions;

Cultural background and social relations: e.g. beliefs, customs, kinship, social perceptions, communication network, mechanism of decision making, power structure, social change, and economic and political structures and devices to enforce social conformism;

Perceptions and responses of the people and the cultural meanings of (i) specific conditions of illness—major, minor, acute or chronic; childhood disorders, pre and postnatal care, communicable diseases, non-communicable diseases, injuries and nutritional disorders; (ii) family size; and (iii) prevention of illness and promotion of health;

Agencies for providing health services to the villagers, e.g. the PHC, the sub-centre of PHC, other government and non-government health and family planning agencies and workers, private practitioners of various kinds—qualified professionals of various systems of medicine and non-professional healers of various kinds, medicine shops, various referral services outside the village, etc.;

Interaction of the personnel of the various health agencies with different segments of the village population;

Interviews of health personnel and their supervisors and

cross-checking with them the data on community response to various health problems.

The above categorisations of the data that are required to be collected provides an indication of the work that had to be done in each of the nineteen villages. Indeed, for many of the above categories data had to be collected in terms of individual social and economic strata like caste, class and religion.

DATA COLLECTION—METHODS

Bibliographical method and interview of the elderly were used to obtain a very broad sketch of the history of a village. An initial survey was conducted to get a census—total population, households and their composition, caste and, as far as possible, some indications of class. Details concerning the caste and class groups, formal and informal leaders and informants were obtained by supplementing the survey data with selective interviews. Systematic, intensive, probing interviews, direct observations and recording of specific case reports were the techniques used on an extensive scale to collect bulk of the data for the study.

As will be pointed out in the next section of this chapter, considerable efforts have been made to *standardize* and repeatedly cross-check the qualitative methods used in this investigation. Over and above, an attempt was made to provide a quantitative dimension to the qualitative data. This was done by identifying specific issues that needed to be quantified on the basis of study of the qualitative data already collected and developing a suitable open-ended interview schedule. This schedule (listed under Appendix-II) was administered to a stratified random sample of the households (a 20 per cent sample in 13 villages, 40-50 per cent in three and 8-12 per cent in three villages). The stratification was done in terms of economic status, caste and religion. Abjectly poor, poor, not so poor, well-off, Harijans, backward castes, agricultural castes, Brahmins and trading castes and Muslims were the different heads under which representative samples were collected from individual villages for obtaining quantitative data. These are defined further in subsequent chapters.

DATA COLLECTION—THE PROCESS

Preparation of Documents

Detailed documents were prepared to ensure that a uniform approach is adopted by every one involved in data collection for the study. While individual investigators had considerable latitude in working out the sequences of data collection according to special conditions prevailing in the different villages, these documents provided specific directions concerning data that must be collected and recorded before a village study could be considered complete. The documents that were prepared to provide the background information and guidelines to investigators are listed under Appendix-I.

Research Investigators

A Master's degree in cultural anthropology, sociology or social psychology, aptitude and readiness to work in rural conditions, ability to win the confidence of the rural population were the criteria set for selecting the investigators. The presumption that it was a man's job proved incorrect when two of the women candidates vindicated the Selection Committee's judgement of their ability to do the job. Their study of nine villages—four in West Bengal by Miss Kalpana Dutta and two each in Karnataka and Kerala and one in Tamil Nadu by Miss Bhooma Devi—turned out to be of a very high quality. The remaining ten villages were studied by the four male investigators, two by Shri Shankar Prasad Srivastava, two by Shri R.P. Singh, five by Shri Bharat Singh Rathore and one by Shri N.P. Shankara Narayana Rao. All the six investigators belonged to the upper castes and classes—two Brahmins, two Rajputs and two Kayasthas. Two of them have doctorate degrees and one was then doing his doctoral research.

The Pilot Study, Orientation and Training of Investigators

The pilot study was started in May 1972 in the village Kachhona to work out a detailed procedure for data collection. Experience gathered from this village provided the material for running a week-long special training session for the investigators. The investigators made a detailed study of the documents and held intensive discussions with the project director

and other members of the faculty of the Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health of Jawaharlal Nehru University, and among themselves. The training included visits to villages where work had already started and discussions with the concerned investigator. Later on, as the work developed, investigators were encouraged to visit villages that were being studied by their other colleagues.

The project director provided continuous supervision and training to the investigators by giving feedback to them on the weekly reports sent by them. This helped in solving problems they encountered in their field work, and ensured that they collected all the required data in their villages. The weekly reports from the villages proved to be of immense value to the project director himself when he visited the villages to supervise the work of the investigators. The field visits enabled him to get a "feel" of the data that were being sent to him by the investigators. He could also cross-check these data and, wherever needed, personally collect additional data from the concerned villages. Investigators were individually invited to visit New Delhi to have final review of their work before they went to another village. There was also a mid-term get-together of all the investigators and they were encouraged to exchange their experiences.

Settling Down in the Village and Building Rapport

Particular care was taken by the investigators to avoid getting identified with the upper classes of the village population. They were specifically asked to marshal all their human relations skills to thankfully decline offers of help from them, particularly in the form of board and lodging facilities. This meant that investigators had to stay and work under conditions where the source of drinking water was often contaminated, available food was not very wholesome or even hygienic and environmental sanitation was very poor. It is a tribute to their dedication and stamina that they could withstand the additional hazards and discomforts and carry out the work assigned to them.

Establishing rapport with the village population in the diverse setting of different villages was another critically important and very difficult task for the investigators. As the so-called

village leaders, both of the formal and the informal types, were chiefly from the upper classes and were relatively better "educated and modernized", it was comparatively easy for the investigators to gain their confidence, tell them about the study and obtain the required data from them. It was clear that co-operation of these leaders was vital to the success of the research work. The task before the investigators was that after having obtained their co-operation, they had to convince these leaders of the need for obtaining data directly from other sections of the population involved, particularly the weaker and downtrodden ones. There was considerable reluctance and even active resistance on their part to such a proposal. "Why do you have to talk to them?" "We [the leaders] can tell all about them that is needed by you, after all, we have known them so intimately for such a long time" went their arguments. Therefore, the investigators had to exercise considerable persuasive skill with the leaders to bring them round to their proposal of studying all sections of the people for a systematic analysis.

Even after overcoming the reluctance and resistance of village leaders, the investigators had to make special efforts to overcome the communication barriers between them and the weaker sections. And, then, there was the still lingering fear among these sections that their free communication with investigators might invite sanctions against them from the leaders after the investigator left the village. The degree of the difficulty in rapport-building varied from one investigator to another and from village to village. As this formed a most critical requirement, investigators were not permitted to start collecting data till the project director judged them to have acquired "minimum permissible" rapport with the village population as a whole. Some of them had to struggle hard and long to allay the suspicions of different sections of their study populations. Interestingly, investigators were frequently suspected to be family planning people who were out to catch persons for vasectomy camps.

That all the investigators had succeeded in establishing a good rapport with the population was clearly discernible when the project director visited the different villages. The villagers were not only found to be familiar with the investigators, but

also welcomed their visits with considerable warmth and willingly gave of their time. Because of this confidence in the investigators, the project director could easily approach the different sections of the population and get responses from them on such sensitive issues as how the mass vasectomy camps were run and how they (i.e. the villagers) "cheated" the organizers of mass camps, the economic, social and political relations of some of the respondents with other sections of the community and with their own "leaders", and their voting behaviour. Such a good rapport turned out to be a very great asset in the collection of quantitative data and in building up good interview situations for obtaining data from respondents on the questions listed in the interview schedule.

Data Collection—Sequence

Investigators were not required to strictly follow any given sequence of steps for data collection. Priority attention was given to any major event in the village which brought out aspects of interest to the study. Organization of a mass vasectomy camp, a by-election to the Lok Sabha in a constituency which included a study village, activities in connection with a Panchayat Samiti election in a village, impact of severe famine and large-scale implementation of famine relief and the Navnirman Samiti movement at the village level, are examples of such events. Similarly, investigators set aside their routine work to collect data concerning outbreak of epidemics or other major medical catastrophies occurring in the village or when they got a particularly good chance of getting an informant or a group of villagers in a position to provide important data relevant to the study.

However, generally, after settling down in the village the investigators set about gathering details of the topography of the village and drawing up the village map. General house to house survey of the village was conducted, interviewing village informants, social workers and persons belonging to different religious, caste or class groups, making direct observation of health behaviour and observation of the response of the villagers to visits of health personnel and the visits of villagers to health institutions. The work also included the formation of unstructured interview schedule and their administration to the random

sample, interviewing the PHC staff and concerned officials at the village, block, district, state and central levels.

Techniques of observation, depth interview and case report were used to study the different segments of the population. Included among the respondents were, apart from informants, well-informed about their group or stratum, some "common" members as well. When required, data on a segment as a whole were cross-checked with "common" members and informants of other segments, with village informants or with health workers.

This study of a village population in terms of discrete groups has been a very important feature of the study design. Investigators had to spend considerable time and effort in identifying the different segments within a population; describing their health cultures; relating a segment and its health culture to the wider social and economic relations of the village population as a whole; and linking the segment and its health culture to the wider forces operating from outside the village which control the political and administrative systems (which include the health administrative system).

Whenever village households were visited by a health worker—say a basic health worker, an auxiliary nurse-midwife or a family planning health assistant—the investigator visited these households to record the responses of members of the households to the activities of the health workers. Unfortunately, as the visits of the health workers fell far too short of what is prescribed, the data on this aspect were correspondingly limited.

After completion of data collection at the village and PHC levels, the project director drew up a check list of the principal findings and visited the corresponding state headquarters—namely, Calcutta, Lucknow, Jaipur, Ahmedabad, Chandigarh, Bangalore, Madras and Trivandrum—to cross-check the findings with the concerned officials. The visit was extended to Bombay and Poona, Hyderabad and Patna in order to ascertain the relevance of the findings to the states of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar, which were not covered in the study. Later the project director had similar interviews with the then Additional Director-General of Health Services and Commissioner for Rural Health, Government of India and his colleagues.

Reports and Records

While collecting the qualitative data, investigators kept four types of records: field notes, daily diary, weekly reports and village reports. The daily diary was written on the basis of field notes and weekly reports were prepared from the daily diary. These weekly reports were regularly sent to the project director. With the field notes, daily diary and weekly reports, along with the additional data collected on the basis of suggestions coming as "feedback" from the project director, each investigator prepared a consolidated report on his/her village covering all the areas demarcated for the field work.

Investigators were encouraged to use the respective regional languages, not only to record the responses verbatim but also to express themselves more effectively. Five of the village reports were made exclusively in Hindi, four in Bengali; both Hindi and English were used in four reports and two were in English. As the project director knew all the three languages it has been possible to avoid any possible distortions through translation of the reports.

Analysis of the Data

The task of the project director was, first, to encompass the entire range of information collected in the course of the study within a single mental canvas, put them in an orderly form and then interpret them and draw conclusions. His intimate involvement at every stage of the work and his own field visits and interviews proved valuable for performing this task.

The analysis of the qualitative data was made in a particular sequence. First, each variable (e.g. child birth practices, power structure, and seeking *Ayurvedic* remedies) was given a code number. In all, 94 such codes were identified. These codes are listed under Appendix-IV. Then, in the course of careful study of qualitative data for each of the nineteen villages, the corresponding code number was placed wherever there was a reference to any of the 94 parameters. After this, all the references to each one of the 94 code numbers for each village were brought together at a single place. The next stage consisted of careful study of each reference on each of the parameters with a view to having a coherent account of that parameter for each one of the nineteen villages and putting them together in a

single place—in the form of a single file for each parameter (bearing a code number). Thus, there were 94 files, each file containing all the references concerning a parameter separately for all the nineteen villages for the entire duration of the study.

Finally, the data concerning each parameter for each village were further refined in the framework: (a) data on the individual village as a whole; (b) data specific to different segments of the village population; and (c) data on the response of the villagers to visits of health personnel and villagers' visits to various health institutions.

In turn, each one of the above three categories of data was further classified in terms of: (a) case reports; (b) direct observations; and (c) response to probing interviews.

However, the conventional methods of analysis were found adequate in respect of the analysis of the quantitative data. From a study of the schedule, 93 parameters were identified. A code list was prepared for each of the parameters. The list of the parameters for analysis of quantitative data is given as Appendix-III. After coding, the responses were then analysed, tabulated and cross-tabulated with the help of a computer.

OBJECTIVITY, VALUE POSITIONS AND BIASES

Two considerations have guided the entire course of this research study. Considerable care has been taken to ensure that the data collected for this study are as objective as possible, and whenever such objective data have been collected, they have formed the basis for interpretation of the phenomena observed and for drawing conclusions.

Efforts made in this study to obtain reliable and valid data can be summarised as follows:

- i. The study covers nineteen villages which provide very widely diverse situations for testing validity of certain data.
- ii. Care has been taken to standardize the qualitative data by preparing suitable documents to ensure uniform guidelines, by providing suitable training and orientation by weekly monitoring of work and direct supervision in the field.
- iii. There has been a built-in system of checking and cross-checking of the data obtained from a segment of a population, with informants and other "common" persons within

the segments, with members of other segments with which that segment interacts, with village level informants, with health institutions at the village level, PHC level and district, state and national levels.

- iv. The qualitative data collected during the study are subjected to additional scrutiny by collecting quantitative data by administering a suitably constructed interview schedule to a stratified, representative sample of households of population of every village.

However, it is also true that in dealing with social and political issues, it is not possible to have objective data on all the facets and that it will be a grave error in social research to wish them away simply because they may not be amenable to objective data collection. The researcher owes it to his discipline to identify the facets for which he can have only subjective data and then based on his own value biases and assumptions, he must come forward with his interpretation and conclusions. Often the assumptions and forecasts can be objectively tested, say under actual operational conditions—if this assumption is correct, then such and such things should happen under actual operational conditions. If objective data are presented to show what has indeed happened, then the objective data in fact validate not only the subjective data but also the assumptions and "biases" on which the conclusions have been drawn.

Based on these considerations, whenever he found that there was not strong enough data base to draw conclusions regarding any important issue, the author made forecasts on the basis of his own assumptions and biases in the expectation that these assumptions and biases will be put to test as the actual events unfold in the future.

DURATION OF FIELD WORK AND PRELIMINARY COMMUNICATIONS

Fieldwork was started in May 1972 and within one year it was completed in 13 villages, which covered the states of Karnataka, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Even a very preliminary study of the data collected led to certain conclusions which had far-reaching implications for development of rural health services in India. A committee of Government of

India, Ministry of Health and Family Planning, headed by the then Additional Director General of Health Services, took note of these findings and requested us to prepare a preliminary report for consideration of the committee. The preliminary report was prepared in August 1973 and published in December 1973.² An abstract of this preliminary report is given as Appendix-V. Subsequently, data obtained from the study have also been presented in the form of four communications.³

FURTHER EXPANSIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was further expanded by the inclusion of six more villages to cover the states of Gujarat (Rupal and Gambhoi), Haryana (Bilaspur), Kerala (Coyalmannam and Pazhambalakoode) and Tamil Nadu (Pullambadi), and the field work was completed in February 1975. While data were being analysed, three considerations led the project director to make revisits to the study villages:

- i. Response of villagers to the family planning programme formed an important component of the study. Declaration of a state of Emergency in June 1975, followed by extensive use of coercion to compel people to undergo sterilization made the earlier data on family planning somewhat outdated. It was also felt that a description of this massive drive and getting an account of community's eye-view of the intensified family planning drive would considerably enrich this study.
- ii. A revisit to a village also enabled the author to get certain data on a time dimension: what has happened to a phenomenon during this time gap? It also provided an opportunity to recheck some of the key findings observed during the first round.

²D. Banerji: "Impact of Rural Health Services on the Health Behaviour of Rural Population in India: A Preliminary Communication," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 8, 22 December 1973, pp. 2261-68.

³D. Banerji: "Social and Cultural Foundations of Health Services Systems of India," *Inquiry*, vol. 12, No. 2 (Supple.), 1975, pp. 70-85; "Will Forceful Sterilization be Effective?" *EPW*, vol. 11 No. 18, 1 May 1976, pp. 665-68; "Health Services and Population Policies," *EPW*, vol. 12, Nos. 31-33, 1976, pp. 1247-52; "Community Response to the Intensified Family Planning Programme," *EPW*, vol. 12, Nos. 6-8 (Annual), 1977, pp. 261-66.

- iii. The rapport that was built with various segments of the population of each of the nineteen villages had considerably facilitated data collection and so the needed data could be collected with relative ease, economy and speed.

Bharat Singh Rathore, who had collected data for the five villages of Gujarat, Haryana and Rajasthan in the first round, was available for covering an additional four villages of Uttar Pradesh on his revisits. Two more investigators were trained to cover the remaining ten villages. M.A. Seetha covered the six south Indian villages of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. Shri Ramendra Nath Lahiri covered the four West Bengal villages.

Each revisit lasted for four to six days. Investigators were instructed to obtain as detailed an account of the intensified family planning programme and other activities which were specific to the Emergency and as detailed an account of the impact of such programmes on different segments of the village population, as could be possible within the time constraints. They were also asked to make a report on the major changes (in health and other fields) that have taken place in the village since the last visit, and do a follow-up of some of the important case reports which were recorded at that time. Besides they could cross-check some of the key observations made earlier.

The revisits turned out to be a very valuable experience. Not only was it possible to obtain a vivid account of the intensified family planning programme and its impact on the activities of the PHC, but it was also possible to make a first hand study of the social and political implications of pushing through this and other Emergency-related programmes. Indeed, the first revisit to many villages revealed a virtual mass upsurge against the Emergency excesses. This upsurge was associated with major shifts in the power structure, social relations, political alignments and perception of the government machinery. The rather detailed data collected during the first round on the social, cultural, economic and political background of the villages gave additional significance to these findings. Indeed, these social, economic and political findings turned out to be so significant that, on their own, they became a major, if not the more dominant, component of this study.

When the revisits proved to be so useful in getting such a valuable portrait of the turmoil generated by the Emergency excesses within the study population, including a portrait of the social ferment which precipitated the Emergency, it was considered very much worthwhile to expand this study and make series of revisits to the very same villages to record the dynamics of the major changes that have taken place due to the social and political backlash of the Emergency and the events that followed that backlash. Sheer compulsion of events have thus converted the proposed one-time, intensive study of health culture of nineteen villages into a long-term study, spanning the period 1972 to 1981, in which the intensive study of the first round provided the springboard for examining how some wider changes at the national level influenced the health culture of the study villages and, perhaps, much more importantly, what have been the cultural, social, economic and political repercussions of these changes at the village level.

The next series of revisits to the selected villages were made to study how the turmoil generated by the Emergency excesses influenced the response of different segments of populations of the study villages to the Lok Sabha elections of January 1977. How people in these villages perceived the issues in the election? What efforts were made by the different candidates belonging to different political parties to mobilize their support? How were these efforts related to poverty, to the social structure and the power structure? How did people vote in the elections? What were the main factors which influenced the voting behaviour of the electorate? In all the revisits, data were also collected about the major changes in the villages since the last visit, follow-up of important observations and case reports and cross-checking of the key data.

The series of subsequent revisits to the villages went like this:

Nine villages of Gujarat, Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were visited in April-May 1977 to study the impact of changes in the health and family planning (welfare) services and other fields following policy changes initiated by the new Union Government.

In June-July 1977 the investigators visited thirteen villages

of Gujarat, Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal (where elections were held to the respective state legislatures) to collect data on lines similar to what was done for the 1977 Lok Sabha elections. These thirteen villages were visited again to study the changes in health and other services following policy changes initiated by the new governments of the corresponding states.

Four villages of West Bengal were visited in December 1978 to study the elections to the Panchayats.

Revisits to all the nineteen villages in the eight states were made at the time of elections to the 1980 Lok Sabha.

Fourteen villages of Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh were visited at the time of elections to the state legislatures in 1980.

Dr Lakhan Singh was given training to take over the study of the nine villages assigned to Shri Bharat Singh Rathore who was no longer available. The project director also paid thirty-five visits covering sixteen villages during this period. He had paid special visits to the two Kerala villages in October 1980 and the four West Bengal villages in February 1981 to study the working of the village Panchayats in the context of (a) the village health culture; (b) the social and economic background of these villages; and (c) the alleged unhelpful attitude of the Union Government towards the state governments in Kerala and West Bengal. To complete collection of up-to-date data on all the nineteen villages, Dr Lakhan Singh was specifically sent to nine villages of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Haryana in the latter half of March 1981; Miss M.A. Seetha had covered the three Karnataka villages later in 1980.

COMPULSION OF DATA COLLECTION

In the original study design, it was intended to collect data on cultural, social, economic and political conditions of the study villages only to provide a background to the study of the health cultures of the study populations. However, data obtained even from the first round of the study turned out to be of much greater significance than originally anticipated, providing valuable insights into social, economic and political issues of considerable significances: aspects of caste and religion, poverty,

power and social structure and how these aspects influenced the leadership, political activities and social and economic control within village populations. By using detailed data on these aspects, it was also possible to see all of them in dynamic interaction. Such a study also revealed considerable instability in these interactions.

Collection of data on such a scale was not simply a case of serendipity; because of its far-reaching significance, the data on social, economic and political aspects have given an entirely different direction to this study.

It so happened that at that time, a shift in the dynamics of the interactions at the national level created a crisis within the country and a state of Emergency was declared in June 1975. This, in turn, led to major social and political changes which precipitated elections to the Lok Sabha and to many state legislatures in 1977, and again in 1980 and to elections to many of the village Panchayats between 1977 and 1980.

As pointed out earlier, these profound changes led to repeated revisits and the original study evolved into a long-term one covering a period of about nine years providing an opportunity for studying these social changes in a time dimension. It provided an opportunity also to observe these changes in terms of the specific communities of the nineteen villages. And the data on dynamics of social, economic, demographic and political changes yielded insights into the processes of five election campaigns within the study villages.

Thus, apart from their undoubted relevance to the study of health culture, these data came to acquire an independent importance of their own. It was, therefore, decided to present the findings of this research in two separate volumes. The first volume will deal with the findings relating to the cultural, social, economic and political conditions of the study villages. Information on health cultures of the villages, including data on cultural, social, economic and political factors which have influenced these health cultures, will be presented in the second volume.

Further, as this study has yielded voluminous data, very special efforts have been made to subject it to rigorous pruning through very careful analysis and interpretation. It was felt that for presenting the findings of a long-term study of

nineteen villages, belonging to eight states, covering so many aspects of village life in India, utmost care be taken to present only those data which are of direct relevance; the author has taken special pains to resist the temptation of elaborating on conclusions drawn.

ORGANIZATION AND PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

We have as background, quantitative data on twenty-three social and economic parameters for each of the nineteen study villages. This is followed by a discussion of the ecological background, the settlement pattern and various institutions within the study villages. Qualitative data to discuss in depth the nature of poverty, the power-structure, social stratification in terms of castes and religions are then presented to project the social and economic relations which have influenced the pattern of leadership, political organisation and instruments of social and economic control. Finally, presentation of the qualitative data on various aspects of life in the villages is followed by presentation and analysis of quantitative data to describe the profiles of eight special social and economic groups within the village populations which have contributed to the shaping of the way of life of the study population.

The variety and the quantum of the data collected during the revisits, combined with the reasonably strong data base built up during the first round of the study have gone a long way in overcoming the constraints imposed on data collection during these revisits.

In the final analysis these data have been consolidated and there emerges from it an overview of the changes in the villages during the period of investigation: impact of the major social and political events; political consequences of the two Lok Sabha elections and elections to various state legislatures and Panchayats; and social and economic changes that are specific to each one of the nineteen villages individually.

CHAPTER THREE

Quantitative Data on Social and Economic Profiles

LIMITATIONS OF THE DATA

Selected quantitative data are being presented here as a framework for analysis and interpretation of the qualitative data that are being given in the subsequent chapters. Apart from being a framework for the qualitative data, these also provide valuable quantitative dimensions: Who are the poor? How many of them are there? What is the pattern of land-holding in the village and how is this related to the extent of poverty? And so on. This helps provide a better perspective for analysis and interpretation of the qualitative data.

Despite the many precautions taken in schedule construction and in the collection of data, and despite the fact that the investigators had the considerable advantage of already having a very good rapport with almost each one of the selected households, it is simply not possible to avoid certain errors inherent in collection of data through schedule.

Furthermore, the error might vary from question to question, from one interviewer to another and from respondent to respondent. For instance, the reliability of responses to questions on nature of the house, existence of a latrine or availability of electricity will be quite different from that to questions concerning landholding or to questions on ability of a family to get two square meals a day through the year. Response to a question on consumption of alcohol asked by a woman investigator to a woman of a household may be quite different from that obtained by a male investigator from male respondent in the same family. Similarly, responses from the villages Rupal and Gambhoi in Sabarkantha where prohibition is enforced, cannot be compared with those from other villages (Table 21).

The fact that many respondents in Rupal and Gambhoi admitted that they have been consuming alcohol shows the degree of their confidence in the investigator. It is also encouraging that the same investigator, employing the same approach, obtained different degrees of response from different villages. This gives an indication of the sensitivity of the tool. For instance, the investigator, Kalpana Dutta, obtained 38.8 and 41.0 as percentages of those who do not get two square meals a day throughout the year for the villages Haringhata in Nadia and Amdanga in 24-Parganas (Table 10), but she also obtained percentages of 77.8 and 59.5 for the villages Dakshin Duttapara in Nadia and Kamdevpur in 24-Parganas. On the same parameter, the investigator Ram Pratap Singh obtained 70.8 per cent of Rohota in Meerut while for the village Arnavali in Meerut it was only 47.4; the investigator Shankar Prasad Srivastava obtained 55.1 per cent for Kachhona and 61.1 per cent for Sunni in Hardoi. Further evidence concerning reliability of the data is obtained from the fact that there happens to be good correlation in the data on similar parameters, both village-wise and in terms of special social and economic categories of respondents. For example, villages which report a high percentage of those unable to get square meals, also have a high proportion of landless labourers and a higher proportion of deaths among children.

Also, when data are compared village-wise, or in terms of special categories, because the standard errors and non-sampling errors often form common denominators, these errors occasionally get cancelled out and, therefore, reliability of data increases when they are compared with one another.

It must also be noted that because of the very nature of selection of the nineteen villages for this study, each of them is essentially an unique entity and the data concerning each one of them should be considered mostly as unique and distinctive. Because of this, addition of the data of all villages or their addition in terms of PHC and non-PHC villages or their presentation in terms of state or region (e.g. north, south, east and west) are of very limited value.

However, as will be evident in Chapter 9, such additions become meaningful in drawing up profiles of various kinds for

special categories of respondents: as for example, groups who do not get two square meals for various durations, landholding, caste and occupation.

In order to obtain data for making analysis of each village individually of the two villages which are with smaller population—Dakshin Duttapara in Nadia and Jadigenhalli in Bangalore—the sample had to be enlarged from the general norm of about 20 per cent stratified random sample to 50 per cent for Dakshin Duttapara and 37.6 per cent for Jadigenhalli. Similarly, to reduce the work load, sample had to be reduced for Pazhambalakode in Palghat to 8.5 per cent, for Pullambadi in Trichy to 10 per cent, for Rohota in Meerut to 10.4 per cent and for Arnavali in Meerut to 15 per cent, as these villages had very large populations.

However, when the data are required to be added together, e.g. to analyse the data in terms of states, regions or PHC and non-PHC villages or in terms of different social and economic categories, suitable corrections had to be made to bring all the village samples to the 20 per cent level.

The sample from the village Haringhata presented a special problem. To the original 20 per cent stratified random sample (40 households), an equal number of households, all designated as "poor" or "very poor", were added to get a better profile of the poor in that village. This addition did not affect drawing up of profiles of various categories of respondents from all the villages. But in studying Haringhata as an individual village, by mistake, the entire group of 80 respondents had been analysed. This gave greater weightage to the poor and very poor in Haringhata. However, as the proportions of these categories were already rather high for this village as compared to many other villages, it was not considered worth the cost, time and effort needed to seek time from the hardpressed computer centre for necessary corrections.

Tables (at the end of the text) are meant to provide an overview of some of the social, economic and demographic aspects of the study villages. Apart from presenting distribution of different variables of different parameters in individual villages, presentation of data concerning all the study villages related to a parameter provides a perspective of variations in the data

within the villages. The first eleven villages in the tables are the PHC villages. The next village, i.e. Kalur is a sub-centre village. The remaining seven villages are non-PHC villages. Presentation of the villages in this sequence enables comparison of data on PHC villages with the villages belonging to the other two categories. Particular parameters and variables of a particular village of these tables can also be referred to get elaboration of aspects of qualitative data presented in subsequent chapters.

Data are presented both in the form of percentages and as frequencies, with the latter being placed in brackets adjacent to the percentages. The total of the responses was not exactly the same in all cases, because in some rare ones investigators had not been able to obtain answers to certain questions.

After presentation of the qualitative data on social, economic and political aspects, cross-tabulated quantitative data will again be presented to provide profiles of certain special groups, again, to give quantitative dimensions to issues emerging from analysis and interpretation of the qualitative data.

Housing, Latrines, Electricity Connection and Radios

The six villages in south India—Yelwal, Kalur, Coyalmanam, Jadigenhalli, Pazhambalakode and Pullambadi—have very few houses made of mud and thatch; in contrast, in all the four West Bengal villages, the two Rajasthan villages and the Gajarat village Rupal, over three-fourths of the houses are in this category. In the two villages from the Mysore district—Yelwal and Kalur, the two Palghat villages—Coyalmanam and Pazhambalakode, the two Hardoi villages—Kachhona and Sunni, and in the Meerut village Rohota, more than one-third of the houses are brick-built (Table 4).

An overwhelming percentage of houses in the study villages have no latrine. It will, however, not be entirely correct to see these findings in terms of hygiene or the inconvenience caused to womenfolk. For example, availability of a badly maintained, scavenging type of latrine, cleaned once in three to six months, certainly does not materially improve the hygiene of residents; nor does it even add to the comfort or convenience of womenfolk of the household. Absence of latrines is to

be seen in the context of the overall setting of the village—its layout, size and nature of construction and design of houses, size and quality of the roads and lanes, source of drinking water and drainage of waste water, disposal of human and animal waste and household garbage, etc. While latrines will be of considerable importance in an integrated plan to improve the ecological conditions of a village, mere setting up of latrines, without improving other environmental hazards will have at most a marginal influence in improving ecology of the village.

The West Bengal village Haringhata stands out from the rest, having latrines in as many as 45 per cent of the houses, 26.3 per cent scavenging type, 10.0 per cent bore-hole type and 8.8 per cent flush type.

Six of the villages—Amdanga (24-Parganas), Dakshin Duttapara (Nadia), Rohat (Pali), Haringhata (Nadia), Rampura (Pali) and Sunni (Hardoi)—have virtually no supply of electricity (Table 6). Among the remaining thirteen villages, Coyalmanam (Palghat), Rupal (Sabarkantha) and Yelwal (Mysore) have much higher percentages of houses with supply of electricity than the others.

There is no correlation between availability of electricity and availability of a radio set. The West Bengal villages Amdanga, Kamdevpur, Haringhata and Dakshin Duttapara are among those having the largest proportion of radio set owners (Table 7), even though three of these villages have no electricity supply at all and in the fourth village Kamdevpur, a mere 9.5 per cent houses have an electricity connection. Rohota and Arnavali in Meerut district come very close to those of West Bengal in number of radio set owners.

Caste and Occupation

In terms of caste distribution, while the average for the nineteen villages comes quite near to the national averages, virtually none of the individual villages has that level of distribution (Table 8). Variations from the average are substantial. Arnavali (Meerut), Rampura (Pali), Sunni (Hardoi) and Rohota (Meerut) have a much higher percentage of Harijans. Bilaspur (Karnal), along with Coyalmanam (Palghat) and Arnavali (Meerut) have larger percentage of Brahmins. Amdanga (24-

Parganas), Rohat (Pali), Kachhona (Hardoi) and Pazhambalakode (Palghat) have larger percentages of Muslims. Dakshin Duttapara (Nadia), Gambhoi (Sabarkantha), Kalur (Mysore) and Coyalmanam (Palghat) are dominated by the backward castes, while Banias and other trading castes are prominent in Pazhambalakode (Palghat), Rupal (Sabarkantha) and Kachhona (Hardoi). As will be discussed in Chapters 7 and 8 this distribution of castes is of relevance in understanding the power structure of different villages.

The occupational pattern of households (Table 9) throws light on another facet of the wide variations in the study villages. Only in two villages Rampura (Pali) and Dakshin Duttapara (Nadia), agricultural occupations (which include agricultural labourers) are truly dominant. In Yelwal (Mysore), Kamdevpur (24-Parganas), Gambhoi (Sabarkantha), Bilaspur (Karnal), Kalur (Mysore) and Amdanga (24-Parganas), 50 to 60 per cent of households are involved in agriculture and the percentages are between 40 and 50 in Jadigenhalli (Bangalore), Kachhona (Hardoi), Pullambadi (Trichy) and Haringhata (24-Parganas). Haringhata is conspicuous in having as much as 32.5 per cent households engaged in service (mostly in the Haringhata Dairy Farm), while the market village of Kachhona stands out with 33.3 per cent of the households engaged in trade and business. Pullambadi, Dakshin Duttapara and Arnavali have a high percentage of irregular, non-agricultural wage earners or unemployed. This is a reflection of poverty.

Hunger Satisfaction, Landholding, Child Births and Child Deaths

The study revealed that a very substantial proportion of the population in the villages are so poor that they do not get two square meals a day throughout the year to satisfy their hunger and that the proportion of the households having virtually no land is also very high. Tables 10, 11, 12 and 13 present the most important data of this series. Table 13 gives the staggering figures about child deaths. Significantly, there is a good correlation between the degree of satisfaction of hunger, the extent of landholdings among the village households and in the number of child deaths.

The six villages, where 77 to 97 per cent of the households are landless, namely, Haringhata, Amdanga, Pazhambalakode, Jadigenhalli, Yelwal, Dakshin Duttapara, also have a much higher proportion of those unable to satisfy their hunger. Similarly, the proportion of the hungry is much less in those villages which have fewer landless and which have a larger number of those who possess wet land, with or without extra dry land. Rampura, Bilaspur, Rohota, Arnavali, Rupal and Rohat fall in this category. The remaining eight villages fall in the middle category, i.e. just as the pattern of landholding falls between the two extremes, so does the degree of satisfaction of hunger in the village.

The Green Revolution villages of Rohota and Arnavali (Meerut) and Bilaspur (Karnal) are distinguished by a much sharper polarisation in the distribution of land. There are those who own large areas of wet land, those who are landless with very few falling in between these two extremes. Similar polarisations, though not so acute, are also present in Rampura and Rohat (Pali) and Rupal (Sabarkantha). In Kalur (Mysore) the polarisation is only between holders of dry land and the landless. Sunni, Gambhoi and Coyalmannam are the only villages with a substantial proportion of those having between one to three acres of wet land with or without dry land. In the six villages mentioned above, where the landless predominate, there is very little land to go round and the prevalence of hunger is extensive.

Arnavali, Kachhona, Sunni, Rampura, Bilaspur and Jadigenhalli are the villages with a conspicuously large number of child deaths. On the other hand, three south Indian villages—Kalur, Pullambadi and Yelwal—have comparatively lower percentages of child deaths. However, it may be noted that while Arnavali has such a high rate of child deaths, it is relatively much lower in another Green Revolution village, namely Rohota, within the same district. The higher proportion of Harijans in Arnavali may be a major determining factor. The data on child deaths need to be examined further when the rates are presented in terms of individual groups—the hungry, the landless, Harijans, large landholders, etc.

Table 10 presents details concerning the degree of hunger

in terms of the duration for which people have to remain hungry. A more elaborate analysis of the quantitative data will be presented in Chapter 9, where profiles will be drawn up in terms of special groups referred to above.

Mass Media, Mobility, Co-operatives and the Community Development Programme

The villages present a variegated picture in terms of use of newspapers (Table 14) and radio sets (Table 15). Three widely different villages, located at three corners of the country—Rupal (Sabarkantha), Jadigenhalli (Bangalore) and Haringhata (Nadia)—stand out sharply from the rest in newspaper reading with 46.5, 43.7 and 35.0 per cent of the households respectively having at least one newspaper reader. These three villages also have a relatively high percentage of those who read a newspaper regularly.

At the other extreme are as many as 11 villages—Bilaspur, Rampura, Rohat, Dakshin Duttapara, Kamdevpur, Sunni, Kalur, Pullambadi, Amdanga, Rohota and Arnavali—with readership of less than 10 per cent, with five of them—Bilaspur, Rampura, Rohat, Kamdevpur and Dakshin Duttapara—having virtually no readership. In four villages—Kachhona, Gambhoi, Pazhambalakode and Yelwal—it is less than 20 per cent; Coyalmannam having a percentage of 25.5. It is worth noting that the Kerala villages—Coyalmannam and Pazhambalakode—do not fall among the villages with high rankings in newspaper readership.

Again, the pattern is quite different in terms of radio listening. Topping the list are: Dakshin Duttapara, Kamdevpur, Arnavali, Haringhata, Rupal and Rohota with percentages of listeners ranging from 33.9 to 25. It is significant that while Haringhata and Rupal have also high newspaper readership, the remaining four belong to the category with very low readership.

The pattern is again different for the villagers visiting a city (Table 16), markets (Table 17) and other villages (Table 18). Three villages—Kamdevpur (24-Parganas), Pazhambalakode (Palghat) and Amdanga (24-Parganas)—had 71.4, 63.8 and 56.4 per cent respectively who had never visited a city. At the other extreme, virtually everybody has visited a city in

Gambhoi (Sabarkantha), Jadigenhalli (Bangalore), Rohota and Arnavali (Meerut). In Gambhoi, Yelwal and Arnavali as many as 35.7, 23.7 and 21.1 per cent respectively visit a city daily or very frequently.

While in five villages—Yelwal, Kalur, Arnavali, Pazhambalakode and Pullambadi—a substantial proportion has never visited a market, in most of the others almost everybody has been to a village market (Table 17).

In the five villages of Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu—Pazhambalakode, Coyalmanam, Kalur, Pullambadi and Yelwal respectively, 82.8, 76.5, 58.8, 49.0 and 45.5 per cent have not visited other villages (Table 18). The percentage is much lower for Rohat (30.6) and Gambhoi (21.4). In the other villages almost everybody has been to other villages.

Respondents in all the nineteen villages did not have even the most basic knowledge about the Community Development Programme (Table 19). In seven villages Rupal, Yelwal, Arnavali, Rohat, Haringhata, Jadigenhalli and Gambhoi between 32.7 and 14.3 per cent had some knowledge about the organisation; in twelve villages, even this limited knowledge was extremely low or non-existent.

There are six villages Kalur, Rohat, Yelwal, Rampura, Bilaspur and Dakshin Duttapara where participation in any form of co-operative activities ranged from 76.5 per cent to 50 per cent; the participation is 20 per cent or less in Pazhambalakode, Gambhoi, Coyalmanam, Rohota, Pullambadi and Rupal (Table 20).

Consumption of Alcohol

Even after making allowance concerning reliability of the data, three of the six villages in south India—Pazhambalakode, Pullambadi and Coyalmanam stand out sharply among the villages with respectively as many as 72.4, 69.1 and 62.7 per cent mentioning consumption of alcohol, and a very high percentage who drink daily in these villages—Pazhambalakode (45.5), Pullambadi (15.5) and Coyalmanam (25.5). At the other extreme there are 11 villages where four-fifths or more stated that they have never taken an alcoholic drink.

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES AND VOTING PREFERENCES

Except for the conspicuously low percentage for the Kerala villages of Pazhambalakode (25.9) and Coyalmanam (35.3), members of the village Panchayats were known almost universally in the remaining villages (Table 22). This may be because the Panchayat elections were held long ago in Kerala and/or that these institutions were non-functional.

Pazhambalakode and Coyalmanam also had very low percentages of those who could name the Member of the Legislative Assembly and Member of Parliament from their constituencies (Tables 23 and 24). Knowledge about MLA was also somewhat lower in Dakshin Duttapara, Sunni and Kamdevpur and very high in the cases of Gambhoi, Kalur, Kachhona, Rupal, Rohat and Jadigenhalli.

In terms of knowledge about the MPs, besides the Kerala villages of Pazhambalakode and Coyalmanam, Amdanga and Kamdevpur (Nadia), Dakshin Duttapara and Haringhata (24-Parganas) came very low, while Jadigenhalli (Bangalore), Rohat (Pali), Rohota (Meerut), Rupal (Sabarkantha), Kachhona (Hardoi) and Rampura (Pali) occupied very high positions on this parameter.

Affiliation with political parties was not discernible in the responses on Panchayat elections obtained in 1972-74 (Table 25). However, Rampura, Rupal and Rohat are conspicuous with a relatively large percentage of those who did not care to vote.

Voting for state legislatures has some interesting facets of behaviour (Table 26). In Gambhoi (Sabarkantha), Bilaspur (Karnal) and Yelwal (Mysore), a significant proportion refused to divulge whom they voted for. A substantial proportion did not vote in Pullambadi (Trichy), Rupal (Sabarkantha), Bilaspur (Karnal) and Kalur (Mysore). "Acquaintances" or "voted as told" accounted for significant proportions in Haringhata (24-Parganas), Rohota (Meerut) and Gambhoi (Sabarkantha).

Except for Gambhoi, Pazhambalakode, Dakshin Duttapara and Bilaspur the Congress party was dominant in the other sample villages. In Arnavali, Sunni, Jadigenhalli, Rohat and Kachhona, the dominance of the party was overwhelming. The Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) was a force to

reckon with in Pazhambalakode, Coyalmannam and Dakshin Duttapara. The only other villages where the party was mentioned were Haringhata, Amdanga and Kamdevpur. Still smaller parties were even more scattered—the Jana Sangh in Kachhona and the Communist Party of India (CPI) in Kamdevpur and Haringhata and the Forward Block (FB) in Kamdevpur.

MAIN FINDINGS FROM THE QUANTITATIVE DATA ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILES OF THE STUDY VILLAGES

Twenty-nine variables have been identified from Tables 4-26 to summarise the data presented. Table 27 provides a general background of the study villages by presenting data on percentage of brick houses, houses with a latrine, supply of electricity, persons owning a radio set, listening to the radio, reading newspapers and those with a minimum knowledge of the Community Development Programme.

Table 28 refers to percentages of Harijans and Muslims, to those who are engaged as labourers in non-agricultural fields or are unemployed, to those who are employed in some service and to those who are engaged in some trade. The percentage of those who do not take any alcoholic drink provides another aspect of social background of the population of the study villages.

The variables that are related to economic and demographic background of the study population are presented in Table 29. Percentage of those who are able to fully satisfy their hunger form a major economic variable. Percentage of those with over three acres of wet land, those with no land or virtually no land, those having more than three children, those who have lost one or more children in the family, those participating in co-operative institutions and those who have visited a city, a market or another village, constitute the other variables.

Table 30 provides a broad picture of political behaviour of the villages in forms of voting behaviour, participation in Panchayat and state elections, knowledge about local Panchayat members, the MLA and MP.

Data on all twenty-nine variables have been presented as percentages of the total of all the variables of the parameters

given in Tables 4-26. With this presentation it is possible to compare them with each other, within a given Table or even with variables presented in the other three Tables. For instance, a relatively high prevalence of newspaper readership in a village can be studied in relation to radio listening habit or knowledge about Community Development Programme (Table 27). Or newspaper reading habit can be studied in the context of specific castes and occupation groups (Table 28), or, in the context of degree of hunger satisfaction, child deaths or landholding (Table 29), or, in the context of voting behaviour or knowledge about their representatives. Such profiles drawn up around each one of the twenty-nine variables and examined singly or in clusters provide an enormous panorama of quantitative data which along with the other twenty-six Tables, gives a valuable backdrop to the presentation, analysis and interpretation of qualitative data.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Villages and Their Institutions

VILLAGES, TOWNS AND CITIES

Compared to urban living, living in villages has major disadvantages. A big city enjoys many social, economic and political benefits available to a population of corresponding size in rural areas. The dependence of villagers on cities makes them more vulnerable to exploitation and control by city-based political leaders, industrialists, traders, bureaucrats and intellectuals.

When, for instance, a person living in a non-PHC village, becomes seriously ill, at most he has access to a PHC, situated some ten or fifteen kilometres away, on an average. The PHC facilities being rather limited, often he may have to be taken to a nearby town or city to avail of more sophisticated investigations and treatment. Even when physicians at the PHC are able to handle a patient with reasonable confidence, relatives might have to rush to the city to get special medicines that might be prescribed by the PHC physicians. For relatives of the patient, this means their having to spend the time, effort and money needed to undertake the journey, interact with people of a different culture and suffer much greater hazards of being cheated by the medicine sellers in terms of price and/or quality of medicine.

In contrast, a well-off city dweller will have relatively easier access to sophisticated medical institutions and good quality medicines with much less expense and effort. Significantly a rickshaw-puller in the same city though not able to derive the same degree of benefits enjoys distinct advantages over a villager with the same means.

The same differences apply to all amenities and opportunities. Villagers have to go to cities for marketing facilities, to get quotas and permits for essential goods from government

offices, to look for jobs, to fight out legal battles in higher courts, for entertainment, for higher education, to get transportation and communication facilities, and so on. The focal points which control political activities in rural areas are also located in cities.

Contaminated source of drinking water, dust, dirt and infestations by various kinds of insects and other pests and parasites, extensive poverty, grossly substandard housing, poor drainage and fecal contamination of the soil and extremely poor personal hygiene, are some of the major factors in the village setting. They create an ecological condition highly conducive to widespread prevalence of various kinds of communicable diseases, undernutrition and malnutrition and high rates of morbidity and mortality among children and mothers. Obviously, the health hazards in villages are much greater than what is found in the cities. Also, unlike cities, where the more privileged classes acquire more hygienic living conditions and civic amenities, the gulf in ecological conditions between the privileged and the underprivileged classes in villages is much less wide.

The abject dependence of villages on cities and the hazardous conditions of village life have had a profound influence on the culture, including the health culture, of rural populations. This influence is more pronounced amongst the poorer sections in the village. They have to additionally suffer deprivations because they are poor, because they have lower rates of literacy, lower educational levels and because they are abjectly dependent on the richer sections of the village community. This denial of social justice and political rights restricts opportunities and facilities needed to bring about cultural changes and to cope more effectively with various problems. Often, this sheer weight of the prevailing adverse conditions of the poor (just as excess wealth of the rich) makes them cling to ideas and practices which are patently obscurantist. Thus, the geographical, social, economic and political conditions under which a community lives greatly influence its growth and development. It must be noted that these determinants of culture are quite different

from what are generally included under "culture of poverty."¹ For a proper understanding of the cultural practices of a community, including its health practices, it is, therefore, necessary to relate its culture to the social, economic and political forces which maintain the ecological settings. In this study an attempt has been made to adopt this approach.

Village Schools

Observations from mothers belonging to the very poor group of families, which will be referred to again in Chapter 5, provide very relevant data on education in rural India. A mother in the village Amdanga (24-Parganas) observed:

...How can we send them (the children) to school? They are often hungry and they move around searching for food. We cannot buy them books. Moreover, they do not want to go to school because the teacher beats them. And, then, how is their schooling for a few years going to improve their lot...?

The wife of Suryakanta Mukherjee of village Haringhata (Nadia) observed:

...I would very much like to educate my children. Although education is free up to Class IV, we need money to buy books and stationery. When we do not get money to buy food, where can we get money to buy books and stationery? This girl has got into Class II. She is very eager to continue her studies. I have made it very clear to her that I have no money so she will not be allowed to buy any books. She weeps. But what can I do? You tell me. Education is meant for rich people. This girl does not understand this...

In the village Dakshin Duttapara (Nadia) a housewife told the woman investigator:

...It is so good that you come to the village. You sit in our houses and listen to us. Everybody here likes you very much. We very much like to get education. We want to travel all round the country. I would very much like to see Calcutta. I

¹C. A. Valentine, *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1972; Oscar Lewis, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty: San Juan and New York*, New York, Random House, 1966; N. Glazer and D. P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, Cambridge, M. I. T. Press and Harvard University Press, 1963.

have heard so much about it. Can you take me to Calcutta—just for a day? I will be able to get the money for the bus fare. What have I done since I came here after my marriage at the age of 10-11? The same routine of cooking food in the mornings and evenings and frequently quarrelling with my husband when he returns from work in the evening! I bear children year after year. What is this life I am living? I want to see the world around me...

When asked how many of his pupils came to school after a full meal, the sole school teacher of the primary school of about 120 pupils in village Pullambadi (Thiruchirapalli or Trichy) remarked that there were very few such pupils and if more food was offered almost all of them would be glad to have it.

In the Green Revolution village—Bilaspur of Karnal district, a moth-eaten blackboard and two rickety chairs for the two teachers were the only pieces of furniture in the primary school. The building badly needed repair. The window panes were missing and bitter winds of January-February came in from the open fields. The children had to sit on the bare floor and they brought straw from outside to cover the cold floor. Despite the prosperity of the village, very few of the children had enough woollens. The surroundings of the school were patently unhygienic with no toilets, or drinking water facilities. Even the so-called trained teacher was of a very low level of competence. He frequently resorted to corporal punishment and struck terror in the hearts of pupils. He was not punctual and he managed to absent himself for days together without formal permission. He openly asked his pupils to bring vegetables and fruits for him from their homes. Supervision of government primary schools was grossly inadequate.

Corruption in the appointment of teachers in both government and privately run government-aided schools has become an accepted fact of life. In one state, teachers' appointments to government primary schools are an openly accepted way of rewarding legislators in return for political favours. The legislator "auctions" an appointment and the highest bidder is given the job. The Director of Public Instruction or any other official of the state education department has virtually no say in this matter.

A study of the privately managed and government-aided high school in Arnavali (Meerut) revealed the nepotism and corruption in the appointment of teachers. As the management committee was controlled by Jats, people of this caste, who were often related to members of the management committee, were chosen as teachers. It is also rumoured that many of them offered bribes, often running to four or five figures, to get an appointment. Of the ten permissible posts of peons, only two were actually filled in. The remaining eight, being relatives of key persons in the management committee, got a share of their salary, while attending to their agricultural work. Similar sharing of the salary was done when a teacher went on earned leave. In their turn, the teachers had developed a regular system of extracting money from pupils at the time of admission and examination. It was stated that there were definite price tags for different "favours" obtainable from certain teachers in academic assessment of pupils. Political links of management committee personnel were used to ensure that the government (which paid the bulk of the expenses) did not interfere with this elaborate money-spinning network. If necessary, government supervisors were silenced with bribes.

This school had also become an instrument for aggravating casteism. Teachers looked down upon Harijan pupils and humiliated them in many ways. Very few Harijans were allowed to pass their examination and reach the School Leaving Certificate (matriculation) examination stage and in this way they were kept at their "right" places in the society. This also ensured that they were available to the rich farmers as agricultural labourers.

In another privately managed high school in Pazhambalakode (Kerala) though caste discrimination and nepotism were not present in such a blatant form, widespread prevalence of corruption was alleged. As in the case of the Arnavali (Meerut) school this corruption was mostly in relation to the appointment of teachers and payment of salary to staff. Bribes were also being extracted for promoting students.

It is significant that relatively speaking, village high schools get more grants and are obviously better off than the primary schools in terms of cost per pupil. This is reflected in the size, construction, furniture, equipment and maintenance of school

buildings and the teacher-pupil ratio. The beneficiaries of this extra "generosity" are mostly pupils belonging to the more privileged classes, as the poorer pupils rapidly "drop out" at the primary stage.

However, as pointed out earlier, village high schools are inferior in almost every respect to their city counterparts. This completes the picture of stratification in access to educational opportunities to pupils from among the very poor who never bother to go to school, to drop-outs of the village primary schools, to pupils of village middle and high schools, to pupils of government-financed or government-aided city schools, to pupils of Central schools, to pupils of convent or other privately financed exclusive schools, and the schools "super exclusive" as the Doon school, American International School, Lawrence-Love-dale etc. for the very specially privileged children. The weightage given to English in higher education and employment pits the villager against greater odds. As will be discussed subsequently in Chapter 8, a prominent leader of the village Arnavali who claims to belong to a party (Socialist Party) that was bitterly opposed to the use of English in government work, sends his own children all the way to the convent schools, located 18 kilometres away in Meerut city.

Some of those who pass high school examination from village schools seek admission in degree colleges in nearby towns. The parents of Biplab Biswas of village Amdanga (Nadia), who, as will be mentioned later in Chapter 8, became a Naxalite, had to put up with considerable hardships in sending him to a college in the nearby town of Barasat. Biplab Biswas was able to get a job in a co-operative bank in Calcutta because he had a bright academic record.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Among Hindus, the temple plays a very marginal role in their social and economic life. The three major temples in the areas under study are one in Amdanga (Nadia), a more than 350-years old Karunamayee Temple, an equally ancient Mariamma Temple in Yelwal (Mysore), and a Shiva Temple in Pullambadi (Trichy). These attract devotees from outside the village. After the enactment of the land reform acts, financial

position of all the three temples has deteriorated sharply. These, as other smaller temples, apart from subserving the religious needs of individuals, do not have any significant influence on the secular activities of the Hindu community. Interestingly, in the village Amdanga (Nadia), because of her social and political work for the Forward Block Party, the wife of the priest of the Karunamayee Temple has much greater influence on the Hindu community than her husband.

In village Bilaspur (Karnal), about 20 out of 90 families are followers of the Arya Samaj sect of Hindus. Arya Samaj has much greater influence on the social lives of its followers. Followers are required to get together regularly at specific places of worship. They have wholtime workers who propagate the religion and often get involved in political activities. They reject social discrimination on grounds of caste. As the Arya Samaj families of Bilaspur had considerable social, economic and political influence in the village, caste discrimination was much less there in comparison with the nearby villages of Rohota and Arnavali of Meerut district. There is also no temple for idol worship in the village. Those who wish to perform puja usually do so on the banks of the river Yamuna flowing close by.

The mosques clearly have much greater influence on the social, economic and political lives of Muslims. There are two mosques in Amdanga (Nadia) and a mosque each in Yelwal (Mysore), Coyalmannam and Pazhambalakode (Palghat). They have Islamic schools (madrasas) attached to them. Besides, Muslims gathered as a community more frequently and regularly in the mosques and these gatherings are often used by community leaders to influence opinions and attitudes on various issues.

The hold of the church on its followers is by far the strongest. It is imperative for Christians to attend church regularly. Besides, the church has a number of dedicated clergy and resources flowing in from outside. It also exploits its political leverage. For example, the authorities in the village Pullambadi (Trichy) got land allocated from the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam to build a church-financed housing colony for the "Harijan" Christians in return for political support. In

the same village, free distribution of CARE-supplied milk to Christians from the poor classes was made conditional on their attending church regularly.

THE BLOCK DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Development of various aspects of agriculture, animal husbandry, administration of Panchayats, setting up of public distribution systems for supply of essential articles, promotion of co-operatives and cottage industries and carrying out rural public works, are some of the major activities of a block development organisation.

All the PHC villages also have the headquarters of the block development organisation. The most striking aspect of work of this organisation is that activities of community development, which formed its very soul, have become virtually non-existent (see Table 19). There is little of working *with* the community in the fields of social and adult education, women's programmes and youth clubs; there is very little effort to help the community as a whole to solve its own problems. Having thus given up even the pretence of community development, the Block Development Officer (BDO), the executive head of the block development organisation, has now become an unabashed appendage of the district development bureaucracy. He now carries out the orders and instructions handed down from above by the state government, the office of the Commissioner and the Collector to "develop" the villages.

The work of the BDO, both in terms of the range of activities as well as the intensity in their implementation varied from state to state. Furthermore, while in the states of Gujarat and Tamil Nadu, the block development organisations work within the framework of Panchayati Raj (Zilla Parishads in Gujarat and Panchayat Unions in Tamil Nadu) and Panchayat Samitis of some form existed in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, block administration was directly under the bureaucratic control of the district administration in West Bengal, Haryana, Karnataka and Kerala.

Observations of the working of the block development administration in the Gujarat villages of Rupal and Gambhoi and

plywood factory is located at Hinkul, nine kilometres from Yelwal. Eleven residents of Yelwal are employed in factories at Belagola and seven in the factory at Hinkul. From the other Mysore village, Kalur, which is situated about eight kilometres from Belagola, five workers are employed in the fertilizer factory, while one person is a clerk in the paper mill.

Over 90 persons from Pullambadi (Trichy) get seasonal employment in the Kothari Sugar Mills at Kattur, four kilometres away and another 30-40 in the Dalmia Cement Factory in the nearby town of Dalmia Nagar. The workers of Kothari Sugar Mills successfully resorted to strike action to wrest a wage of Rs 4 for men and Rs 3 for women. Within the village itself, there is a furniture factory which employs 10 to 15 persons. This factory provides furniture to government offices and government schools around Pullambadi.

The Green Revolution villages—Rohota and Arnavali (Meerut) and Bilaspur (Karnal) and the bigger villages such as Kachhona (Hardoi), Rohat (Pali), Rupal (Sabarkantha) and Pullambadi (Trichy) have workshops for repairing tractors and other agricultural machinery. Rohota and Arnavali are milk collection centres, where villagers sell their milk to the Delhi Milk Scheme.

WHITE COLLAR AND SKILLED JOBS

There has been a steady increase in the number of persons commuting to nearby cities as white collar workers. Most of them have a college education and some special skills. But, as was the case of Biplab Biswas of Amdanga, they were firmly rooted to the village community. The tendency to acquire white collar jobs and jobs requiring special skills in the nearby city was particularly noticeable in Yelwal from where people move to Mysore city and in Amdanga where people move to Calcutta. The Brahmins are conspicuous among those who have secured employment in industries and offices of various kinds. While the conditions of some of the elderly Brahmins of Coyalmanam (Palghat), who lost their land as a result of land reform, was indeed very bad, there were many others who had acquired considerable wealth and status by adopting scientific methods

in agriculture, as in Rohota and Arnavali (Meerut) and Yelwal (Mysore) or getting jobs in cities after education. A relative of an Ayyangar in Yelwal was a senior official in the World Bank in Washington, while a brother of the Panchayat Pradhan of Rohota was a railway officer in nearby Meerut. Quite a few Brahmins in the village Yelwal have set up bakeries in Mysore city and in Bangalore. The Banias too provided an "enlightened" group, keen to educate their children, including the girls. The Banias of Kachhona (Hardoi) had white collar jobs in the nearby cities of Lucknow, Hardoi and Sandila. One of the influential persons in Kachhona, Radheshyam, has acquired a master's degree in commerce and a bachelor's degree in law to become the Assistant Deputy Registrar of Co-operatives of the Government of Uttar Pradesh.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES, BANKS AND CO-OPERATIVES

The Khadi Gramodyog Commission has been instrumental in establishing a cotton spinning centre for women in Harin-gkata (Nadia). Even though the daily earning amounted to a meagre Rs 1.50, women from distant villages walked to Harin-gkata, carrying their babies, to take this opportunity of becoming independent earners. Thirty women were employed in this centre. The Khadi Gramodyog Commission had also set up a tannery for Chamars at Rohota (Meerut). The weavers' co-operative in Pazhambalakode (Palghat) played an important role not only in somehow sustaining over 300 weavers' families but also providing them basic requirements at a fair price.

Seven of the 11 PHC villages (but none of the non-PHC villages) had branches of a nationalised bank. Most of the nineteen villages had co-operative organisations. Financially, some of these co-operatives were in a sound position, while others could be called sick, a few of them in virtually comatose condition. In weighing credit-worthiness of borrowers the banks effectively excluded bulk of the population. Similarly, the viable co-operatives were mostly controlled by the richer sections who also had greater access to co-operative credits and supply of scarce commodities through co-operatives.

For instance, when the branch of a nationalised bank in Kachhona (Hardoi) came forward to offer special soft

agricultural loans to small and medium farmers, moneylenders helped these farmers to obtain the loan so that they could pay the interest on loans they had earlier taken from the moneylenders. Recognising these loopholes, the bank began extending loans in the form of agricultural inputs, fertilisers and pesticides. The moneylenders reacted by accepting payment of interest from the indebted farmers in the form of fertilisers and pesticides and sold them off to affluent farmers at a premium.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

Barring Rampura (Pali), Rupal (Sabarkantha), Bilaspur (Karnal), Jadigenhalli (Bangalore) and Kalur (Mysore), the rest of the study villages are well connected to nearby towns and cities with public transport service having a frequency of six or more daily. Rupal and Jadigenhalli are also connected with bus services of a lesser frequency—around four times a day. Kalur has no bus connection either from Belagola or from Mysore city. A twice daily train service to Mysore city is the only means of public transport. Again, while there is no public bus service to Bilaspur village, the 16-kilometre stretch from Smalkha to Hathwala is served by frequent trips of more than 300 per cent over-loaded “tempo-taxis” or by horse carts (Tongas). Bilaspur is three kilometres from Hathwala and it can be reached on foot or in private transport. Village Rampura can be reached only by covering the distance of 3 kilometres from Rohat by foot.

All the villages have post offices and barring five (Sunni, Rohat, Rampura, Bilaspur and Kalur) all have telephone and telegraph facilities as well.

STATE-LICENSED AGENCIES

Cane crushers operated with electricity or diesel, rice mills, petrol pumps, bus services or fair price shops are examples of the newer ventures in rural areas. These outlets are very remunerative and access to these increases the capacity of the village bosses to keep and extend their hold on the poor classes. These resources are, therefore, becoming increasingly important factors in the transactions of “sale” and “purchase” of political

support between village bosses and politicians at higher levels. An example is the case of Mohammad Hussain of Coyalmanam (Palghat). The origin of his affluence was his large landholding. With this he acquired a position of leadership among the Muslims and controlled the mosque and the village madrasa which in turn led to his striking a bargain with the ruling political party. In return for his political support, the leaders of this party agreed to help him get permits to set up a rice mill, run a bus service from Coyalmanam to Palghat and get a petrol agency. His powers of patronage and increasing affluence have enabled him make a larger number of villagers politically subservient to him.

A more straightforward case is that of Arun Maitry of the village Kamdevpur (24-Parganas). Arun Maitry has acquired wide reputation as a faith healer and soothsayer and his followers include many affluent persons from Calcutta. He became very rich, owned a large fleet of cars and built a palatial residence where he performed his miracles and treated his patients. As will be discussed in the other volume, this affluence, rather than his attributed supernatural powers, have given him a more dominant influence on almost every facet of village life.

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

Deepavali, Ramlila, Pongal, Onam, St. Anthony's Day, Holi, Durga Puja, Kali Puja and Ramnavami are the major occasions that bring festivities to these villages after months of toil. These festivals are usually linked with the harvest and combine pure and simple entertainment with religious or agricultural ritual in the form of prayers and thanksgiving. Almost all the members of the community participate. However, to those who are very poor and to their children in particular, festivals have more pain to offer than joy. When the rest of the village is engaged in celebration, the deprivation and destitution of the poor become even more poignant. The poor have no money to buy new clothes or shoes for their children or to have special feasts on such occasions.

Major religious functions and festivals are held in Jadigenhalli, Yelwal and Amdanga to mark the special occasions for

worship of the deities of the famous temples located in these villages. People of Pazhambalakode participate in the annual religious functions of the nearby Ayyappan Temple, located on the hill top.

Rupal and Gambhoi (Sabarkantha district) have the Garba dance for nine days preceding Ramnavami. Each day the Garba groups dance till early hours of the morning. Such traditional dances are patronised by village elders who not only sit through these sessions, but at times participate to provide encouragement to young folk.

Major fairs come up near Karunamayee Temple in Amdanga on special religious occasions. Similarly a major fair is also held on the occasion of Ganghore to worship Shiva and Parvati in Rohota (Pali). The Ganghore Mela was held when field work was going on in Rohota. On this occasion married women pray for the welfare of their families, while unmarried girls pray for good husbands. Over 5,000 people participated. There were 25 shops of glass bangles, a tea shop, two shops of sweatmeats, two vegetable shops, a shop for cane juice and a trolley of ice-candy. A cycle race, a 3400-metre race, a programme of community dancing and singing were the highlights of these festivals.

CINEMAS AND JATRAS

Cinema shows have become quite popular in villages. Pullambadi (Trichy), Coyalmanam and Pazhambalakode (Palghat) have "permanent" cinema houses, made of bamboo and thatch. Other villages are served by travelling cinema units. Special charity shows are held to raise funds for various causes. More than a thousand rupees were raised in Rupal (Sabarkantha) from such shows to promote child welfare activities in the village. Clubs in the West Bengal villages also raise money in the same way. In the Rajasthan villiages of Rohat and Ram-pura, puppet shows depicting the story of the legendary Amar Singh Rathore are very popular.

Jatras have been very popular in the West Bengal villages—Haringhata, Dakshin Duttapara. Amdanga and Kamdevpur. Apart from the traditional mythological and historical themes,

they are often used to carry political and social messages. Jatras thus become not only a medium of entertainment but also a medium of community education and mobilisation. *Ami Subhash Bolchi* (This is Subhash speaking), *Bekar* (Unemployed) and Abu Sham's *Bengali* are some of the titles of Jatras held in the villages at the time of field work. A Jatra with the title of *Lenin* was held in Haringhata to commemorate the Lenin centenary. Usually, Jatra troupes are hired from outside. But so much was the enthusiasm for Jatra among youth in the small village Dakshin Duttapara that, to cut down the cost, they themselves staged *Ami Subhash Bolchi*. As the village is not yet ready to have its womenfolk play the women's roles in Jatras, they had to hire two *Baijis* (hired women) from outside to play these roles.

THE NATIONAL DAYS

In sharp contrast to mass participation in festivals and fairs, the national festivals—Independence Day (August 15), Republic Day (January 26) and Mahatma Gandhi's birthday (October 2)—go almost unnoticed. The greater majority of villagers do not have the foggiest notion of the significance of August 15 or January 26. Celebrations on these days are usually limited to participation of a few school children in some schools in the flag-hoisting ceremonies. Many, particularly those belonging to the younger age-groups, do not know who Mahatma Gandhi was, leave aside the ideals that he stood for. In many villages, more particularly in the Tamil Nadu village of Pullambadi, heroes and heroines of the film world were the most popular figures, exercising considerable influence on social and political life.

CHAPTER FIVE

Poverty, Power and Social Structure

THE DATA

This study provides enough qualitative and quantitative data to draw a detailed portrait of poverty in rural India—what it means to an individual, to a family and to different social, economic and occupational strata of the population. The data also provide a backdrop for developing an understanding of:

- (a) the power structure and the political system of the village;
- (b) the generation of certain (poverty related) health problems; and villagers' perceptions and attitudes towards health problems;
- (c) attitude of various health agencies towards different strata of the population and vice-versa.

For the purpose of this study certain subjective sets of criteria were found sufficient for obtaining both qualitative and quantitative information on poverty. It is, therefore, not necessary to enter into the raging debate on criteria for measuring poverty.¹ Whether a family gets enough food to have two full meals (whatever the composition) all round the year was used as the broad yardstick for demarcating the poor from the rest.

¹V. M. Dandekar and N. Rath, *Poverty in India*, Poona, Indian School of Political Economy, 1971; P.V. Sukhatme, "Assessment of Adequacy of Diets at Different Income Levels," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 12, Nos. 31-33, Special No. 1978, pp. 1373-84; Central Statistical Organisation, *Poverty, Concept and Measurement*, Proceedings of the First National Conference on Social Science Research and the Problem of Poverty, New Delhi, Indian Association of Social Science Institutions, 1981; S. Sengupta and P.D. Joshi: *On the Concept of Poverty Line and the Estimates of Poverty at the Regional Level in India*, Proceedings of the First National Conference on Social Science Research and the Problem of Poverty, New Delhi, Indian Association of Social Science Institutions, 1981.

Those poor who did not get enough to eat for more than six months in a year were called "abjectly poor" or "very poor".

Of those who got two square meals all round the year, those whose diet contained substantial amounts of additional nourishment in the form of milk, butter, ghee, curd, meat, fish and eggs, etc., were designated as "well-off". The population was thus divided into four categories: "well-off", "not poor", "poor" and "very poor" or "abjectly poor". The investigator's long stay in the village and good rapport with the villagers was of great help in cross-checking the information given by the respondents on their economic status. Standards of housing, clothing, household furniture and other gadgets, cooking utensils, and fuel, land-holdings, occupation, wealth in cattle, and consumption of specific food articles like cereals, pulses, milk and other animal proteins, were often checked with the economic status of an individual as assessed by his/her response to the question concerning two square meals. Table 10, providing quantitative data on poverty allowed more detailed analysis of this condition and it was possible to correlate these data with those related to variables of other parameters (see Chapter 9).

Although the data have revealed wide variations in the poverty prevalent in the nineteen villages (see Table 10), in each one of them poverty was so pervasive as to not require any profound sociological or anthropological study to discover. An outsider to a village would be surrounded by a number of children—many of them unwashed, pale, with expressionless faces, running noses and sore eyes, as also discoloured hair, dry skins, bulging bellies and emaciated limbs, often suffering from sores and ulcers. Even in the severe winter of north India, their clothing often consists of only a tattered rag or two. Many of them are of school-going age, but have not gone to school. Then there are girls, 5-10 years of age, taking care of younger brothers and sisters while the mother has gone to work.

These children are in fact the battle-scarred "surviving soldiers" of the grim struggle for existence that begin at birth. And they will have to continue this struggle for the rest of their lives.

LIFE CYCLE OF THE POOR

The struggle begins in the womb when the child suffers the

consequences of malnutrition in the mother. Birth exposes it to the additional hazards of inadequately attended delivery, the diarrhoeas and bronchopneumonias of infancy and soon after infancy, weaning diarrhoeas. Then come the life-long hazards of communicable diseases—diarrhoeas and dysenteries, enteric fevers, tuberculosis, malaria, leprosy, trachoma, filariasis, tetanus, diphtheria, whooping cough, measles, worm infections, and so on. The child has also to face a host of other ecology related disorders. If lucky enough to survive all these onslaughts, it grows to adulthood and struggles through the rest of its badly battered life exactly as its parents did producing their own progeny to continue the cycle of life.

In the lean months children simply jump with joy when they learn that rice will be cooked in the house. No, nothing along with rice—they eat it with just some salt. They consider themselves lucky when we get some *dal* or some small fish to eat with it. When they do not have any food, they move about here and there in search of it. They eat wild roots and leaves in a desperate bid to reduce the pangs of hunger. At night, when the pangs of hunger become intolerable, they pester me to give them some food. Feeling utterly helpless and desperate, I start beating them. They cry. And then they fall asleep . . . How can we send them to school? They are often hungry and they search for food. We cannot buy them the books. Moreover, they do not want to go to school because the teacher beats them. And then, how is their schooling for a few years going to improve our lot? . . . We really do not do much when children fall sick—even when they are very sick. But do you know, even illness refuses to release them from the bondage of suffering and somehow they manage to recover to continue to suffer the pangs and agonies of deprivation?

These observations were recorded from a particularly forthcoming mother in village Amdanga (24-Parganas) where as much as 59 per cent of the households go without food for at least some time in the year (Table 10).

It soon became clear from further observations and interviews in each one of the nineteen villages that the plight of the

children who gather round the visitor to a village reflects the life of a large number of the villagers. Being biologically more vulnerable, ecological hazards damage the child most. Because of these hazards some are weeded out outright and the rest suffer serious handicaps in their growth and development.

POVERTY AND POWER

Furthermore the very social, economic and political forces responsible for the creation of ecological hazards also hurt the poor more directly by creating hurdles in the way of their realising the full potential of whatever capacity is left in them. This is done in various ways: limiting access to the poor of educational facilities, learning skills and employment opportunities as well as denying them their human rights and democratic prerogatives. Exploitation is heightened because the affluent classes control the forces of production and distribution and apply various forms of pressure to extract labour as cheaply as they can. The poor are left with bare subsistence wages to keep body and soul together without hope of improving either their own or their children's lives.

This powerful grip of the affluent classes over almost all facets of the lives of a substantial section of the population is by far the most outstanding feature in the life of people in rural India. As this exploitative relationship is of considerable value to the political leadership at higher levels, the latter lend active political, administrative, "legal" and economic support towards maintaining this.

Respondents from the poorer sections in the Hardoi (UP) villages of Kachhona and Sunni complained to the investigator repeatedly that the people of the upper classes kept a constant watch over the activities of those of the lower classes. At the earliest hint of any organised effort on the part of the poor to demand a better deal, the ring leader is identified and hired toughs are let loose on him. Exemplary torture is used to strike terror in the hearts of the other members of the group and the lesson sinks in very well. The police are on the side of the upper classes and will not even report on such events. Even when such reports are made, witnesses will not be forthcoming to testify, while there will be plenty of hired witnesses to testify

to the contrary. Finally, even when evidence is available and the judge happens to be fair and convicts the guilty, the rich still have avenues open for referring appeals at higher courts.

Curiously, only in village Kachhona the Harijans (and no other castes) steadfastly maintain the custom of having elaborate feasts on occasions of marriages, births and deaths. They often have no money to pay for the feasts but moneylenders readily come forth with mortgage loans. This ensures that most of the Harijans are practically mortgaged to these moneylenders. They mortgage everything they have: their land, their capital, their houses, their future earnings and even the earnings of their wives and children.

Thus enriched, both economically and politically, moneylenders in these villages have become politically ambitious. They have come out openly to use their control over a large number of the poor to gather votes for elections. Not only have they captured the Panchayat of the village but during elections to the state legislature or the Lok Sabha, they are also able to bargain with politicians at higher levels on the strength of the votes which they "commanded". Issue of licences of various types, from fair price shops to fire arms and influence with the local police, judiciary and other government agencies are often the commodities that are bartered against the delivery of votes. Traders have also come out openly to grab political power in the village Rupal of Sabarkantha district. Study of the village Rohat of Pali district through time has provided very significant data (see Chapter 10) on the actual process by which the trader class in this village joined their kinsmen at higher levels to wrest political control in the region from the hands of the Kshatriyas, who traditionally exercised it.

The landowners of Rohota and Arnavali villages in Meerut district and Bilaspur in Karnal adopt a more direct method of ensuring compliance of the poor. During elections, for instance, they sat near the polling booths with their long sticks (lathis) and simply ordered any labourer, who turned up at the booth, to return home, as "their votes have already been cast." These timid men dared not disobey lest they be turned away from the fields when they go to seek work, or are beaten up or asked by the moneylender to pay back the loans they had taken.

In the West Bengal village, Amdanga, an agricultural labourer gets a wage as low as Rs 2 to Rs 2.50 which falls far short of meeting even the basic calorie requirements of his family. So, when he goes for work the next day, he lacks the energy to work. The landowner feels justified in giving him poor wages and threatens to throw him out for his poor work output. The threat of losing his work makes him even more frustrated and desperate. While his wife and children are anxiously awaiting his return from work with the rice for their meals, he goes instead to the toddy shop to drown his sorrows and frustrations. Finally, when he returns home late at night and his wife remonstrates with him for wasting away the money, he gives her a sound thrashing.

In the Rajasthan villages—Rohat and Rampura, when 25 bags each of coarse grains were received for distribution as scarcity relief, most of it was cornered by the affluent. The needy did not venture to protest.

The situation is similar in the villages of Gujarat, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. It is, however, distinctly different in the two villages—Coyalmannam and Pazhambalakode of Palghat district in Kerala. Here, the agricultural labourers have organized themselves politically and made remarkable gains. They have wrested the statutory minimum wage of Rs 6 per day (prevalent in 1974) from their employers and got land for their homesteads. They send their children to school and the children get free mid-day meals and uniform allowances.

But during off-seasons or in times of distress, they have to depend on the rich landowners. Those belonging to the scheduled castes have also to put up with segregation in housing. Again, in the village Pazhambalakode, the plight of the weaver community is notable. In spite of having a very active weavers' co-operative, they are unable to get enough to eat even after working on their looms for as long as 12-14 hours a day because of the low returns.

Alongside the poverty stricken there are quite a few rich landowners in these two villages—one owning two Ambassador cars and two tractors. Because of their influence at higher levels many of them could get substantial additional income by setting up rice mills, lending money, getting an agency for a

petrol pump or acquiring a licence to run a fair price shop, or merely by opening a shop of general merchandise. There were also rumours that some of them made smuggling a very lucrative business. It was also alleged that some policemen, government officials and politicians were actively involved in their smuggling activities.

However, there have also been instances where the masses have fought back. The upsurge against forcible sterilisation during the Emergency provides a most significant example.² Reference will also be made later in Chapters 7 and 8 to similar instances of militant action by downtrodden sections against injustice and exploitation in the villages of West Bengal, Gujarat, western Uttar Pradesh and Kerala.

The very unjust nature of social relations has also compelled the exploiting classes to offer some concessions, admittedly, very often mere "paper" concessions. These concessions are in the form of land reforms, legal abolition of caste discrimination, special privileges for scheduled castes and tribes, programmes of community development and Panchayati Raj, rural health services, and so on.

Social scientists have also been commissioned to rescue the social order by bringing in such issues as culture of poverty³ and hordes of social workers and extension workers have been given employment to bring about "modernisation" among the so-called tradition bound, illiterate, superstition-ridden masses.⁴

POWER, POPULATION GROWTH AND FAMILY PLANNING

But it was rapid population growth which was perceived by the ruling classes as the most ominous threat to the system. This threat was recognised at quite an early stage and attempts

²D. Banerji, "Community Response to the Intensified Family Planning Programme," *EPW*, vol. 12, Nos. 6, 7 and 8, Annual No. 1977, pp. 261-66.

³C.A. Valentine, *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1972.

⁴D. Banerji, "Social and Cultural Foundations of Health Services Systems of India," *Inquiry*, vol. 12, No. 2 (suppl.) 1975, pp. 70-85; *Family Planning in India: A Critique and a Perspective*, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1972; G. M. Foster, *Problems of Intercultural Health Programmes*, New York, Social Science Research Council, 1958.

were made to find ways to make the poor people limit their family size.⁵ This was done first by launching an extensive campaign of mass communication and extension education, then by offering various incentives and disincentives and, finally by exerting varying degrees of pressure and coercion through the government machinery.

So intense has been their concern about the rapid growth of population in the country that all earlier pretences of family planning as a welfare movement based on persuasion were cast aside and Emergency powers were used to let loose a massive campaign of sterilizing millions of people by force.⁶ In effect this was a declaration of class war against the poorer sections who were accused of threatening the very existence of the system by maintaining an "intolerably" high rate of population growth⁷ (which in itself is an untrue premise). The fact that this blatant onslaught on the poor could not be maintained and that the family planning atrocities during the Emergency were one of the major issues on which the Union Government and the many state governments in north India were overthrown (see Chapter 10) is of considerable significance in understanding the dynamics of class relations in rural India.

POWER STRUCTURE AND THE SOCIAL EQUILIBRIUM

Apart from the two gross categories, namely, those who exploit others because they enjoy certain advantages and those who are exploited there is the third category of those who are able to earn their living without exploiting the labour of others. Members of this category have to strive hard to retain their positions in the social hierarchy, and to withstand economic pressures caused by natural calamities, health disasters, untimely death of the bread-winners, and social obligations concerning

⁵D. Banerji, "Political Economy of Population Control in India," in L. Bondestam and S. Bergstrom (ed), *Poverty and Population Control*, London, Academic Press, 1980, pp. 83-101.

⁶M. Minkler, "Thinking the Unthinkable: The Prospect of Compulsory Sterilization in India," *International Journal of Health Services*, vol. 7, No. 2, 1973, pp. 237-48.

⁷D. Banerji, *Family Planning in India: A Critique and a Perspective*, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1971.

marriages, deaths, etc. When the pressure is too strong for them, they are forced to slide down to the category of the exploited and become more dependent on the exploiters. Much less frequently, members of this category manage to acquire additional economic advantages which enable them to "climb up" to become members of the exploiting category.

The social structure was manifest in all the nineteen villages. In each case the population appeared to be in a state of flux—a dynamic equilibrium. This equilibrium was reached by the inter-dependent relationship of the three principal categories and it registered movements corresponding to the shifts in the interactions among these three categories. Various economic, political and social forces mediated these shifts in the equilibrium.

The case of Suryakanta Mukherjee of village Haringhata (West Bengal) illustrates certain aspects of this social equilibrium in rural India. Suryakanta Mukherjee belonged to a respected Brahmin family and was able to secure a job in the nearby Haringhata Dairy Farm. As he had a secure income he was quite an eligible bachelor. And match-makers began to search a bride for him. Meanwhile, problems arose for Suryakanta Mukherjee. His association with a trade union incurred the displeasure of the local political leadership which had emerged in 1971 as a result of overthrow of the United Front Government of the state. They managed to get him discharged from service for his alleged political activities. The rest of the story has been narrated by the wife of Suryakanta Mukherjee:

We are very poor. My father's family is not poor. We managed to carry on reasonably well. Suddenly a match-maker brought the proposal. I was then only 14 years old. What could I understand? The match-maker presented such a glowing picture that my father liked the match. Furthermore, my father was ill then. He trusted this match-maker because I was the third of three sisters and he was in a hurry to marry me off. I got married within a month. Father gave me a gold necklace, two pairs of gold bangles and a pair of gold earrings.

Then, a few days after my marriage, some people came and took away the corrugated sheets of the roof of our house. Nobody protested. I came to know that my husband's people

had not been able to repay their debt, so they were taking away the sheets. I was flabbergasted and terrified. I still remember that my hands and feet became cold and clammy. I understood what was in store for me. Subsequently, we lost the land that we had, and he also lost his job which was fetching him Rs 60-65 per month. I never learnt why we lost all these. But I dared not ask anything. I just watched the events, dumb-founded.

Now we have a room which locks badly and when it rains I collect my children together and we shiver in the cold. I have mere tatters to cover myself, apart from one sari which I use for going out.

I come from a respectable Brahmin family, but what didn't we do to earn some money? My husband ran from place to place to find a job, but without success. Then, I, daughter of a Brahmin, went from door to door to seek the job of a maid. I have washed utensils and I am even prepared to clean night soil from others' latrines. But I could not get even that job. My husband carries loads and works in others' houses and whatever he brings I feed my children with that. We go without food more than half of the days. Where can we get food? Leave aside the question of milk, the children do not even get vegetables. Rice is enough for them; they eat it with a little bit of salt. There is no place even to cook the rice when we get some. I somehow make some space for the cooking.

In winter children have nothing to wear. I manage to get some torn clothes from the people in the surrounding villages. The six-month old child is fed with sago water, as I do not have enough milk in my breast. How could I get that when I do not get food to eat? Unfortunately, the children do not even die. I will feel relieved if they die. I will weep for two or three days and after that everything will be alright. At least I will not have to worry about their hunger and about some food to satisfy it.

We do not depend on our neighbours. Even if we do not have salt when we get some rice, we do not go out to get some salt from our neighbours.

I had heard that if we plead with the officials we might be able to get a job. I have done that with the officials of the

Farm [Haringhata Farm] too. But they do not even allow us to get into the room. We usually do not vote. Why do we vote, you tell me? What will the winner do for us? Everybody is selfish. Who cares for us? But this time [1971 elections] some young men told us, "If you vote for CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] then you will get a job in the Farm." So we voted this time. But, unfortunately, the Congress scoundrels won; so the question of job does not arise.

I would very much like to educate my children. Although education is free up to Class IV, we need money to buy books and stationery. When we do not get money to buy food, where can we get money for books and stationery? This girl has got into Class II. I have made it very clear to her that I do not have money so she will not be allowed to buy any books. The girl is very interested in studying. She weeps. But what can I do, you tell me? Education is meant for rich people. This girl does not understand this.

Children keep on getting ill with ailments like fever, cold and stomach upsets. First we try our own medicines—leaves of this or that tree, bark of another tree, etc. My mother-in-law knows a great deal of these. She is also an exorcist. When this does not work, we go to the hospital [the PHC].

Just a few days back I had a disease like cholera. How terrible was the vomiting and purging! I could not even move out. My mother came over and gave medicines but to no avail. I was so weak that I could not go to the hospital even. I went on vomiting all around me while the child clung to my breast. That night my husband called in Shanti Doctor [an unqualified, allopathic Registered Medical Practitioner]. He gave me some medicines and injections and towards the morning I felt much better. We have not yet paid him his fees. I heard that if we undergo operation they will pay Rs 48. I feel very much tempted by the money but I also know that after the operation I will have to spend many times the 48 rupees because he will not have strength in his body and, as a result he will not be able to work. We will go from the frying pan to the fire. And

then, there are those things which have to be used inside. Less said about them the better. So many people have worn the loop but they have conceived. Many have got it removed. People who have used Nirodh also have got children. Whom to believe, you tell me? Actually, whatever is to happen shall happen. The palmist has told me that I will have seven children, out of which three will die and four will remain. If that is ordained, let that happen.

You can see that poverty, destitution and sorrow are our constant companions. When a day passes I think that somehow at least one day has passed. The children grow up in dust, eating dust. Only God will take care of them since their mother and father do not have the capacity to look after them.

There was a sequel to the life story of Suryakanta when the author revisited this village along with the investigator in the second follow-up visit in June 1977. The wife of Suryakanta was not there and his brother's wife informed us that she had run away with one Promode Vyapari (of a "low" caste) one year ago. She informed us that Suryakanta did not have a job for a long time and they went through a very bad time. His wife had pawned her jewellery to Promode Vyapari and that is how they got to know each other. Promode Vyapari used to help her off and on with some money. He is married and has children. Still, one day Suryakanta's wife ran away with him taking with her only the child which she was nursing. He now keeps her in a hired house. In the course of further interviews around the household it turned out that even before she had her affair with Promode Vyapari, she had been going out with men to get some money for food.

The life story of Suryakanta and his family in fact summarises some of the most outstanding findings of this entire study—the destitution and degradation that people have to undergo. Parts of his story were repeated again and again in all the nineteen villages. These related to the decline of families because of economic compulsions, their attitude towards children, sickness, Primary Health Centre, their attitude towards children's education and towards the family planning programme.

When seen in a time perspective, with the help of data from follow-up studies as well as the retrospective data collected from various respondents, it was found that, taken as a whole, because of deepening poverty, people are becoming even more vulnerable to control and exploitation by the ruling classes. Even those who were earlier economically independent are now being compelled into a dependent state. The acquisition of more political and economic power by the ruling classes has in turn enabled them to get a "better price" for their political support from higher levels. In other words, deterioration in the conditions of the down-trodden people enabled their exploiters to control a larger number of votes, and further strengthen their economic (and therefore political) position.

Public Administrators and the Rural Power Structure

In eleven out of the nineteen villages personnel belonging to various government departments form another significant group which interacted with the rural population. Taken as a whole and compared to their counterparts living in urban areas, there are obvious signs of change and adaptation among members of this community. Some of them have also developed bonds with villages. However, compared with the rest of the population in the village, these groups are conspicuous in a number of ways:

1. They appear as "urban grafts" on rural areas with the members of the grafted communities making greater efforts to keep up their urban sub-culture and maintaining their urban linkages—by living in secluded "civil lines", by having much greater access to mass media, through frequent visits to cities and by mostly confining their social interactions within the residents of "civil lines".
2. Most of them came to live in the villages because they could not avoid doing so and they continue to make efforts to get themselves transferred to urban areas.
3. Apart from the significant cultural differences due to their socialisation in urban culture, they are much "superior" to their rural counterparts in terms of their economic and educational status.
4. They have been invested by the political (and administrative)

system with the requisite authority and expected to bring about "development" of various aspects of village life.

5. This ascribed task of bringing about social change in the village is inimical to the cultural background of the change agents. Their urban and privileged class world-view colours their approach to social and economic problems of the rural population, both in formulating rural development programmes and in implementing them. Because of this they, in turn, are considered by the villagers as "outsiders" not interested in the villagers' problems and not capable of understanding them. Also the villagers feel that many of these officials have a tendency to get personal gains through misusing their positions; they are regarded as corrupt people.
6. While many of the government functionaries are required to work closely with the village population most of them are unable to do so. The most significant aspect of this relationship is that when the political and administrative pressure can no longer be eluded, these officials develop links with the group which is to them politically most important, economically most rewarding and socially least undesirable, namely, the privileged classes of the village population. In their turn, the privileged classes get further strengthened by such links with government functionaries.

An observation made in the course of this study provides significant insights into the course of the power equations between public administration and the rural population. The investigator recorded the following conversation between a group of Harijan mothers in the village of Kachhona in central UP where a PHC has been in operation for over 10 years:

Investigator : Whom do you call when you give birth?

Respondents : Why, we call the *Dai*.

Investigator : Don't you have visits from women workers to help you in pregnancy, childbirth and child rearing?

Respondents : No, nobody visits us.

Investigator : Nobody from the Prathamik Swasthya Kendra [Primary Health Centre]?

Respondents : What is that?

Investigator : The persons who work in that building across the road.

Respondents : O, you mean the hospital! No, nobody makes any visit to us from that hospital.

Investigator : Doesn't any lady health worker from that 'hospital' visit you? Some nurse?

Respondents : O, you mean the Mem. How can she visit us? We are poor. We cannot pay her fees. She visits the rich people and spends considerable time in their houses. We pay her fees and call her only when the *Dai* is unable to manage the case. And, when even the Mem fails, and if we can find the money, we take the case to the lady doctor in Hardoi or in Lucknow.

Despite its functioning for over 10 years, a PHC is still looked upon as a hospital; its village level functionary—the lowest level—the Auxiliary Nurse Midwife, is perceived as a "Mem Saab"; this Mem (quite illegally) charges money for her services; she ignores the poorer sections and pays special attention to the key persons of the ruling classes; and despite the enormous cultural gap between even the lowly placed ANM of the government agency and themselves, when the need is acute, they actively seek her out and pay for her assistance; and when the need is even more desperate and if they can get the money, they actively seek out a lady doctor in the city.

The upper classes, particularly those who occupy key positions in the village, specially attract the ANMs due to a variety of reasons. In these households the ANM gets a reward for her services; she gets good "company" to talk to; she gets much better conditions to work in; and, perhaps, through influential people in the village, she is able to create a good impression on her supervisors—the Lady Health Visitors, the PHC doctors and the district officials—who will come to these key persons not only to enjoy their hospitality but also to find out from them as "village leaders" what the "village community" feels about the work of the ANMs and other health workers.

POWER STRUCTURE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

Three other observations, one in the same village (i.e. Kachhona) and the other two in the villages of Rohota (Meerut)

and Pullambadi (Trichy), demonstrate how "community" actions that emanate from power relationships within the rural population can create hazards for the exploited classes. In the village Kachhona, which is an important market centre of the tehsil, the traders, who form the dominating class, decided to invoke community participation through the local club (Gram Vikas Sangh) to build a covered drainage system particularly on the main street where the shops are visited by customers. Participation of the neighbourhood was available in the construction of the drain through the main street. But problems arose because a part of the drain had to pass through a neighbourhood dominated by medium landowning farmers, before it ended in the village pond. The residents of this area were not only disinclined to participate but they also insisted that the discharge from the covered drain should not pass through their street even though that was the shortest route to the pond. As a result, the trading community had to release the discharge through the much longer and circuitous route passing through the streets of neighbourhoods inhabited by poor people, mostly Muslims, Chamars and Bhangis. There was then, of course, no question of covering the drains. Sanitary conditions in these neighbourhoods are usually much worse than those prevailing elsewhere. Additional discharge of sewage from the houses lining the main street further worsened the sanitary conditions. In the rainy season, when the discharge from the drain is much more, the entire network of streets in this poor neighbourhood is converted into an extensive, insect breeding, foul smelling, swamp. This makes it extremely difficult for anybody, including the investigator, to make his way to the houses located there without wading through ankle-deep slush. The residents deeply resented this action of the trading community and they complained bitterly about it to the investigator. But they also felt, that any confrontation on this issue would be counterproductive and that it would be better to give in to the demands of the powerful Banias and later on submit petitions to them for redress of grievances.

The second observation relates to the village Pullambadi which was the only one among the nineteen study villages to have a piped water supply system. However, not only were the

poor sections of the village population given proportionately fewer taps to get their water supply, but these taps were also located at the tail end of the system and, therefore, had much poorer outflow. As these communities were not allowed to get water from other taps, there were even longer queues at these taps, leading to frequent quarrels and fights. These taps were the first to go dry when the overall supply was limited and people had to get water from old wells which had been lying unused and uncared for, thus exposing themselves to even greater health hazards than when the wells were routinely used. Establishment of community piped water supply system in this village thus often led to exposure to greater health hazards, and also generated increased social tensions among the poor and the weak.

The third village Rohota had the largest proportion of Harijan population among the nineteen villages. Responding to this situation a section of the Jat landlords "became" exponents of socialism preaching of a casteless society and by this method captured the leadership of the village from their rival Jat-Brahmin group with the support of the Harijans. However, when it came to finding a place for dumping organic wastes, it had to be located in the colony inhabited by Bhangis, as no other group was willing to have such a nuisance in their locality. As in the village Kachhona, the Bhangis expressed their strong resentment against this unjust infliction of environmental hazard on them, but in spite of their key role in the making of the village leadership, they did not have enough leverage to resist the action. Again, as in the case of Kachhona, in order to maintain its position, having compelled the people to put up with an obviously unjust action, the leadership had gone on giving assurances to the aggrieved people that steps would be taken to redress their grievances, without any intention of doing something concrete.

CHAPTER SIX

Portraits of the Village Poor and Others

NOT POOR BUT NOT WELL-OFF

Those who are able to have enough grain during the lean agricultural season, get rice or chapatis, with some salt, onions, chillies or tamarind, to satisfy their hunger are *not* categorized as poor. The children of these people do not get milk. These people wear garments made of coarse cloth and they may have one or two sets to change. They live in mud and thatched huts and have no capacity to pay for electricity and water even when these facilities happen to be available in the village. They have no latrines and sometimes lack money to buy bathing soaps. They cannot give higher education to their children. At times they have to depend on the moneylender to tide over periods of extreme distress. When this is the profile of those who are categorized as "not poor", it is not difficult to imagine the extreme deprivation of those categorised as "poor".

However, those who are categorised as "not poor" but "not well-off" are able to repay the loan when they reap the harvest. Harvest time also ushers in a period of relative prosperity for them. The quality of their diet improves and they are able to add to it vegetables or pulses, maybe even ghee, milk and milk products and, in the case of non-vegetarians, an occasional dish of meat, poultry, fish or eggs. These people joyfully participate in festivals and fairs during harvest time, with their women wearing new sets of clothes and jewellery. Houses are repaired and decorated. They are also able to spend money for various kinds of entertainments and rituals. With the help of their savings and by borrowings from moneylenders, they are able to hold functions related to marriages, births and deaths within the family.

THE WELL-OFF

Only a small section of those who are getting enough to eat throughout the year can be called "well-off". They have large landholdings often with irrigation facilities. They own a number of cattle. They also have income from other sources and can get considerable credits at much lower rates of interest. They employ labourers to work in their fields and in their houses. They often own tractors or get them on hire. They live in large cement plastered houses, often with mosaic flooring and roofs of reinforced concrete, electricity connections, private water taps and well furnished with sofas, tube lights, radios, etc. They have latrines. The well-off get all the food they need all the year round. Children get milk daily. Ghee, milk, milk products, meat, poultry, fish or eggs form a part of their diet almost every day of the year. The women of these houses have expensive clothings and they have jewellery of gold, diamond and silver. They employ private tutors for their children and can send them to nearby towns and cities for higher education. When the need arises, people belonging to this section go to cities to get sophisticated medical services.

THE POOR

Biologically, those who are compelled by circumstances to go without food for some period in the year represent a group which has been pushed to an extreme phase in the struggle for existence. This is obviously a very extreme way of defining "the poor". The fact (see Table 10) that even with such a severe definition as much as half of the population in the study villages taken together are categorised as "poor" or worse (i.e. "abjectly poor") provides an indication of the day-to-day life in Indian villages.

"You cannot imagine what it means to go without food for four or five days in a row", exclaimed one of the respondents. "The agony of hunger drives me literally mad. In a fit of rage, I catch hold of my wife and start cursing her, saying that she is the root cause of all the problems as she had brought out so many children and then I start raining blows on her. She cries and sobs. Only when I have let off the steam do I come to my

senses. What is the fault of this poor creature? She is so emaciated. She is so helpless. She suffers even more than I do. Thinking of all these, I start reproaching myself for my action."

Similarly, at first the mother tries to console her hungry children; but as the pangs of hunger become severe and the mother's consolations prove to be of no avail, in sheer frustration, she starts beating the children. They weep but after some time fall asleep. Hunger has driven many persons, particularly young women, to take their own lives usually by swallowing the pesticide, Follidol.

A school teacher remarked, "Realising that the child might not have had any food this morning, yesterday or even for several days, I control my impulse to beat him up for not preparing his lessons. I often fear that he may even die if I beat him."

These observations show the degree to which poverty affects the lives of a significant section of the population of a village. By having such a profound influence on their lives, poverty becomes a major element in the way of life of the village as a whole. It generates tensions in the community. Rows after rows of dilapidated, thatched huts; uncleaned, unwashed, emaciated children; tense and harassed parents and the resigned look of the elderly—form an almost finished portrait of an Indian village.

As is apparent from Table 10, hunger and destitution are all-pervading in each of the study villages while they are different in so many other ways: a fragile, a dilapidated, unventilated, small, thatched hut with virtually no furniture, a few worn-out pots and pans, the emaciated mother with the two-year old child desperately trying to suck milk out of her wrinkled, pendulous breasts and the hungry looking children always on the look out for food. One mother of the village Dakshin Duttapara (Nadia) observed:

"Leave aside the question of the education, housing, health, etc. How to get food twice a day keeps us worried day and night. The children are always moving about here and there in search of food, like stray dogs and cattle. Whenever I am able to gather some food somehow, the children pounce on it, leaving nothing for us. When they grow up to an age of 12 or 13

years, we send them to work in other people's houses, shops, etc. But sometimes even these jobs are not available. Wherever we go they say: 'No Vacancy'. There are as many as 10-12 persons lined up for a job of part-time maid-servant. The days are particularly bad when agricultural work is slack—the months of Baisakh, Jaishtha, Asharh and Sravan [April 15 to August 14]."

The wife of Hiralal Jana of Kamdevpur (24-Parganas) has drawn a vivid portrait of hunger and destitution:

"Do you know that we have not eaten rice for the last six months? We eat green leaves after boiling them in water. We do not have money even to buy salt or cooking oil. All this is due to this good-for-nothing government which has opened up the toddy shop in the village. Whatever he earns, he spends in this shop. He does not think of his wife and children. He even asks for food on returning home. And, when he does not get food, starts beating me.

"Khagen Ghosh lives near our house. They are rich. They eat rice twice every day. My daughter was not very good in putting up with hunger. She used to say, 'Mother, these people get rice twice a day. When will we also be eating rice twice every day? Mother, we are of the same government as Khagen Ghosh. Then why don't we also get food like them?' Unable to stand the pangs of hunger, she ended her life by swallowing poison oil [Follidol].

"I had put up with tremendous hardships to marry off my eldest daughter. I had brought her up by denying food to myself. We sold our land and still we have to pay off a loan of 400 rupees. But what a cruel fate! At her husband's place also she has to suffer pangs of hunger.

"I want to destroy this government! We have not voted and we will not vote in future also. We do not get food to eat. Even if we vote our conditions will not change. Our government has done enough to torture us in this way. Why don't they come and finish me by throttling me with their feet. It is better to die that way than this dying by inches. But, then, what will happen to the children? And what will the neighbours say about the cruel, selfish mother who merrily made her escape, leaving a pack of children to fend for themselves by begging from door to door?

"With what great difficulties we pass our days! What hardships my children put up with to earn something to buy food for us! My young son of eight years brings in 50 paise every day as a labourer. The elder brother, who is 12, brings in one rupee per day as a labourer. Usually, the father does not bring anything. But both these boys hand over their entire earnings to me. They do not spend even a paisa on their own. You can understand how we manage with this income. Even the oat flour is so expensive these days [May 1973]. The children are most considerate. This is very touching. Knowing the situation they do not pester me. On the contrary, they insist on my sharing with them whatever we prepare. That day, in the afternoon, everybody got two chapatis as their share. But that left nothing for me. Seeing this, my eight year old son said, 'Mother, what will you eat?' The father remarked that I could do with some boiled leaves. But the son insisted that I should have one chapati from his share. But the youngest child has not yet learnt to be so reasonable. He keeps on moaning, 'Mother, they have cooked rice in their house, won't you cook rice today? It is also so long since we had rice last!'

"Even in the severest winter, the children have a single tattered cotton rag to wear. I cover myself with a piece of cloth. I do not have a single saree. The days of Pujas are particularly painful. While others show off their new clothes, I am unable to give any to my children. I sew up their old clothes and try to wash them clean.

"I have now one daughter left. I simply shudder when I think of the money needed to marry her off. That will require at least 600 to 700 rupees. Where will I get that money?

"I cook sitting on the doorway. I have no utensils—neither *hanrhi* [a pot], nor a *hatta* [a long spoon], nor a *khunti* [scraper]. I have some small containers and I somehow manage to cook in them. We have no furniture. We have no bedding. We have no clothing. We have virtually nothing."

Another mother from Amdanga (24-Parganas) observed:

"In earlier days people could at least get some rice. Now we do not get even that. Because of repeated bouts of prolonged hunger and destitution, we are losing all sense of discrimination and values. All round people are making pathetic entreaties for

a mere handful of rice. He earns one rupee seventy paise a day. How can we six manage with that income? He sets out for work early in the morning after taking a little puffed rice. I pick up some leaves from here and there and boil them with some salt. I will prepare *rootis* (chapatis) only when he returns with his earnings of the day. The young child clings on to my breasts, even when they are almost dry. I have no money to buy sago for him. He cannot chew *rooti* at all. So I give him a piece of *rooti* after chewing it in my mouth. The children have no clothes to wear. We do not have money to send them to school. They will remain uneducated, but what can I do? You can see the state of the saree I am wearing. Because of this I stay indoors. What crimes have we committed that peace and happiness have altogether vanished from our lives? It is because of the unendurable pangs of hunger that the other day the wife of Pramanik ran away with a lorry driver, deserting her husband and two children. The husband is now managing his house by stealing things from here and there."

Bishnu Mondol, another respondent of the village Amdanga, presents yet another portrait of poverty:

"When my son grew up I thought he would be of help. But soon after getting married, he set up a separate household. I earn two rupees a day by working in a rice mill and I have to spend one rupee to meet my travel expenses and the cost of my tiffin. So, we have to pass our days depending on leaves and tubers. I had married off my eldest daughter but on her developing a most painful inflammation of the eye, the son-in-law has deposited her in our house. I told him about the desperate condition we live in. But he did not listen and went away. The girl cries out in agony. She will not go to the hospital because she thinks that even if one shouts oneself to death, nobody cares in the hospital. But what are we to do? We ourselves have so little to eat and the mother has to be by the side of the daughter constantly trying to alleviate the intense pain.

"As utensils, we have a frying pan without a handle and a brimless pot. We do not have even a tumbler to drink water. We drink water in tin cans. The question of education of the children does not arise at all. The youngest child of 6-7 years goes out early in the morning to pick up fuel for cooking. He

understands the agony of his father. His 9-10 years old sister works as a maid in the house of the B.D.O. [Block Development Officer]. She is paid five rupees per month and she gets a handful of puffed rice to eat in the morning. They [i.e. the B.D.O. family] cannot even feed her on two occasions in return for all the work she does for them! And do you know that even the land on which this crumbling house stands is mortgaged? What to speak of repaying the principal, I am already in arrears of 300 rupees in paying the interest. In another five years and two months we will have to hand it over to the moneylender."

In the village Haringhata (Nadia) another woman observed: "My husband is a daily-wage labourer. He also beats drums during marriages and during Pujas. Sometimes he is also called to catch fish from ponds owned by others. His wage is around Rs 2.25. This too he does not get every day. You can imagine how we manage to live on this income. Over and above, his deaf and dumb sister has been abandoned by her husband after she gave birth to two daughters. They now live with us. She goes from house to house, begging for food. My ailing mother-in-law also lives in our house. Despite her crippling ailment, she somehow drags her body around to find customers who might hire her son as a drummer."

In the village Amdanga, a Muslim housewife, Rajia Khatum observed:

"The boy and the girl have had nothing to eat for the last three days. They simply go on saying: 'Mother I am hungry. Give me something to eat. I want to eat *rooti*.' My husband is a patient of asthma. Moreover, since he underwent vasectomy operation some seven years back, he has been feeling very weak. Even now some bleeding takes place at the site of the operation. He has sold off his land to get treatment for his illness. He can earn only if he is able to work as a daily-wage labourer. But who is going to hire such a sick person? I go out to beg for food. Very few oblige. Most often I return empty-handed. But by then the children fall asleep, may be because of sheer exhaustion."

A large number of similar observations have been recorded from all the nineteen study villages. When the lady investigator

walked into the hut of a poor family in Haringhata, she found two of the children lying on the floor, fast asleep. They were stark naked. The mother had just a small dirty piece of rag on her body. She was roasting some small rotten potatoes which had been thrown away by the shopkeeper. That was the meal for the entire family. Even the little child will live on these potatoes. The mother's hair was matted due to neglect and dirt. She had no comb or *sindoor* (vermillion) to apply on her forehead. She will lie down a bit in the afternoon. They will again go to sleep soon after sunset. There is no question of having any bedding of any kind. There is no money for buying kerosene oil. There is nothing to eat in the evening. So the best thing is to fall asleep as soon as possible.

Among the Muslims of Amdanga, there are pockets where poverty is so abject that they are unable to meet the expenses of calling the *Dai* at the time of childbirth. The mothers have learnt to take care of their own childbirths and themselves cut the cord of their children. There was a mother who had cut the cord of four of her own babies.

One mother observed:

"Eating boiled vegetable leaves and tubers has become a way of life to us. When we have some money, we buy wheat flour. Rice has become a luxury which we enjoy on rare occasions. When rice is cooked in the family the children literally dance with joy. 'Father! the rice tastes so sweet! Doesn't it?' they exclaim."

A particularly bitter labourer remarked:

"God is unfair. A few people are sitting idly by and getting everything they want. What crime have we committed that even after working so hard in the hot sun we do not get enough to satisfy our hunger? Are we also not children of God?"

Giving an account of the breakdown of expenditure of the day's income (in 1974), a farmer explained that out of an earning of Rs 1.60, they spend 50 paise on wheat flour sold at Rs 1.40 a kilogramme, 15 paise for gur (jaggery) and the remaining 95 paise for purchase of rice.

There are pockets of abject poverty in the village Amdanga where in house after house one can see women with dire destitution and suffering writ large on their faces. The children too

look crestfallen. They move about restlessly here and there and keep pestering their mother for food. One of the mothers told the investigator, "If you come in the evening, you will find that there is no fire in the hearths of a majority of the households of this locality."

Munuswamy is an Adikarnataka [Harijan] residing in village Jadigenhalli of Bangalore district. He earns his living as a labourer, loading firewood in a lorry. Often he does not get any work and then the family starves. A brass tumbler and brass pot constitute his utensils. One mat serves as the bedding of the family. Old rags of bed sheets are all they have to protect themselves against the cold. The wife has one full saree and two small pieces with which to manage to cover herself.

The poor in Jadigenhalli eat stale and tasteless food, mainly ragi. Rice is a luxury to them. When rice is cooked on rare occasions, there is generally a fight among the children about their share. They somehow manage to swallow ragi balls made by pouring ragi flour in boiling water. They cannot afford to have any *sambar* made out of pulses. Chillies with some salt and tamarind and an occasional onion is ground into a paste. They dip the ragi balls in this mixture and swallow them. Even when they make *sambar* they can afford only ten paise worth of pulses. The Adikarnatakas eat beef. They even eat meat of dead animals to satisfy their hunger.

The poor in the village Yelwal in Mysore district, eat leftovers from the previous day and cook one single meal in the evening. Usually, the food consists of ragi flour made into a thick paste and *saru* [pepper water with horsegram]. They earn on an average Rs 2.25 when both the husband and the wife get work. Then the earning is just enough to buy a kilogramme of ragi or maize. They go to bed hungry or eat leftovers when they are unable to get work.

In the Rajasthan villages of Rohat and Rampura, chronic drought conditions have resulted in a state of chronic famine. Only when the drought becomes very acute does the government declare a state of famine in these regions and launch famine operations. Ironically, exacerbation of a chronic scarcity condition, comes as a welcome relief to the poor sections of the villages. They then at least have a chance of earning some

money by working in famine relief works. One such famine relief work was going on in the summer of 1973, when the field work was in progress and the author was on a visit to Rohat. The work was to dig a reservoir to store rain water. The site was about 2 kilometres from Rohat. At a temperature of 46-47° Centigrade, the afternoon sun was beating down on the workers. The mothers had brought their infants along with them. As there were no trees in the vast desert expanse, they had constructed improvised hammocks to keep their children. A piece of cloth was stretched over the hammocks to provide some protection to the child against the sun. Wages are so low that after all the hard work under those trying conditions they could have just thick *rotis* (chapatis) of coarse grain, along with some salt and chillies. One reason given for this low wage was that the works supervisors usually took a cut for themselves before a labourer was given the wage for the day. They could not afford enough of even this type of food to fully satisfy their hunger. The situation is much worse in the evening as hardly any grain flour would remain for the evening meal. They supplement it by making a sort of porridge mixing whey with a paste made from whole corn cobs. Conditions get more grim when even such relief is not available. Then people start eating seeds of wild grass, knowing fully well that these seeds are poisonous and can sometimes cause deafness and blindness.

GRADATION OF POVERTY IN RURAL INDIA

Conditions of extreme destitution so widespread in the villages reflect the nature of economic, political and social relations in rural India. Many of these destitutes die of hunger, and to cover such deaths, they are labelled as caused due to "pneumonia", "diarrhoea", "dysentery", "heart failure", or simply, "old age". Some commit suicide to rid themselves of the agony of hunger. Some take to "crimes". Some wives run away with other men who are able to feed them. Some starving young women are enticed to take to prostitution. Extreme destitution disrupts the family structure and has profound influence on the socialisation of children.

However, most of them somehow manage to keep alive during the lean season. They are able to get better income during

the busy agricultural season. This enables them to have more food, at times even food of better quality and greater variety. With this they are able to build up "reserves" so that they can face privations of the lean months.

The poor in the villages are constantly engaged in a balancing act to counter various negative forces threatening their very biological survival. They have long abandoned any hope of living a reasonably decent life. Such a decent life means getting enough of wholesome food, adequate housing to provide protection against the elements of nature and minimum space for living, adequate clothing for protection against climatic conditions and to meet the minimum socially prescribed requirements, healthy environmental conditions and clean, potable water supply, capacity to provide adequate education to the children and so on. To them such a decent life remains a dream and they are under constant pressure of adverse conditions which push them deeper and deeper into destitution. With each downward step they attempt to attain a new balance—a new equilibrium.

As a result of the cumulative effect of deprivation and degeneration of a number of years, many of the poor have slid down to a level where the very survival of the individual has become exceedingly difficult. One of the most striking features of this life, as observed in the present study, is the extent to which they have managed to cling to life under most unfavourable biological conditions. However, while they might have managed to ward off death under conditions which were earlier considered to distinctly fall short of the basic minimum requirements to keep alive, they seem to have in the process of achieving this feat, created a new biological stratum of human beings with an even lower capacity to struggle against social injustice and exploitation. They are thus nearer to a vegetative existence than have been those who had somehow managed to keep themselves alive in the earlier years. This new development in the biology of man suits the exploiters very well. On the one hand, they can claim credit for fall in mortality rates and on the other they have a category of human beings who are weaker and more abjectly dependent on them.

It may be appropriate to emphasize here that reference is being made to the possibility of having an even more dependent

stratum of persons in a poverty-stricken society as a result of lowering of the floor of biological requirements to speculate on possible explanations to some findings of the study. This is not intended as a new theory. Nevertheless, findings concerning survival potentials of the body cannot be brushed aside casually and deserve more attention from concerned scientists.

To avoid controversies regarding definitions of the poor for this study, very rigorous criteria were adopted to do the same. The percentage of poor in the population would increase sharply if instead of adopting the criterion of "two square meals all round the year" to identify them, we used that of "two square *wholesome* meals all round the year" including in it a minimum quantity of protein, fats, oil and iron for adults and milk for pre-school children. The extent of poverty would go up still further if minimum norms of housing in terms of space and hygiene were also included. If a minimum standard of environmental sanitation and quality of drinking water were taken into account, very few people would escape being labelled "poor". This once again underlines the fact that not only is there extensive poverty in villages, but considered as a whole, the villages themselves are also very poor. This study also provided data which have demonstrated that both these types of poverty are closely intertwined with the power structure which shapes economic, social and political life of the country as a whole.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Caste, Religious Groups and Class

DATA ON CASTE AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Caste and religious groups were studied in the context of their relevance as factors influencing health culture. Interestingly, this angle has provided a refreshingly different perspective on the role of caste and religion in rural India and brought out a number of important considerations inadequately attended to by social anthropologists. Instead of getting preoccupied with digging out obscure and often not so relevant or non-existent "data" on purity and pollution aspects of social interaction, or being overwhelmed by the virtually impossible task of ascribing positions to myriads of caste and sub-castes in different regions, the effort here was to assess the role of caste and religion in terms of specific behaviour of individual groups in the power structure and relate this to their health culture.

THE HARIJANS

The influence of caste in the social and cultural dynamics of rural populations varied widely from one region to another, state to state and village to village. In the four West Bengal villages—Haringhata, Dakshin Duttapara, Amdanga and Kamdevpur, for instance, it was a problem just to identify and map out the households on the basis of caste, because they lay so scattered and caste as such did not play a very significant role in social and economic interaction within the communities. A very remarkable feature of these villages was that even the exploitation of Harijans as a caste group did not figure as a basic factor in their social and economic relations.

As will be seen later on in this chapter, the role of caste also varied considerably in the other fifteen villages of central

and western Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. But in each of these villages the place of Harijans stood out very sharply both in physical terms of the settlement pattern, and economically and politically.

It was found that economic forces, rather than the social and cultural forces in the form of caste hierarchy, purity, pollution, power of the priests, rituals, religion, customs and beliefs, were more important in perpetuating the gulf between Harijans and the rest. Cultural and social aspects of the caste system have been exploited by the privileged and the economically dominant classes to subserve their class interests.

Variations in the use of Harijans as captive and cheap labour by the rich farmers were considerable though they were much wider in the social relationships of the Harijans with the rest of the community. Wherever there was a clash between economic and political interests on the one hand and ritualistic demands of purity and pollution on the other, almost invariably, the economic and political interests prevailed.

In one of the villages of Meerut where Harijans predominate, a rich Jat landholder, Pramode Bharati, who is also a follower of Ram Manohar Lohia's concept of casteless society, allowed Harijans free access to his house, ate his meals with them and involved them in social and religious functions within the village. This gave him political control over them and also over the village Panchayat. But in terms of economic relations, the fate of the Harijans in Arnavali was no better than their brethren elsewhere. This Jat leader, who preached a casteless society, looked the other way when, at the instance of the rich farmers, the revenue authorities did not implement the Panchayat resolution to allocate land for house sites to Harijans.

In the nearby PHC village Rohota in the same district, four kilometres away from Arnavali, where economic interests did not clash, the Harijans were subjected to all sorts of social discrimination. They were not allowed to draw water from "non-Harijan" wells; even if they could afford, they were forbidden from playing band music in a wedding procession. The Jat teachers of the government-aided but privately managed school

displayed open bias in assessing the academic performance of their Harijan pupils and they saw to it that very few of them got to the matriculation stage.

However, in this very village, the rich landowning Brahmin village chief did not have any inhibition in sending his wife to accompany women investigators and students of the Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health (Jawaharlal Nehru University) who visited Bhangi households for interviews. While the Bhangi Harijans showed considerable surprise, the wife of the village chief showed no embarrassment in sitting down with other visitors on the cots offered by them and she participated freely in the discussions.

Similarly, in the Haryana village of Bilaspur, which has a number of followers of the Arya Samaj, which preaches caste abolition, Harijans do not suffer from overt social discrimination and they freely draw water from wells and hand-pumps in non-Harijan localities. However, economic relations remained as rigid and exploitative as in other villages in the region.

There have been many instances of gross social discrimination within groups of Harijans themselves. The Chamars in Rohota as well as in Arnavali keep a strict social distance from the Bhangis. When the State Harijan Welfare Department of Uttar Pradesh constructed twenty houses for Harijans in Rohota and allocated four of them to Bhangis, the Chamars, in the true style of the Jats, physically obstructed them from coming to their "colony".

One of the most significant findings of this study is that the Brahmins are fast leaving behind their elaborate rituals pertaining to purity and pollution much trumpeted by social anthropologists. And the Ayyangar Brahmins of Yelwal in Karnataka provided such a specimen. Significantly, they could "afford" to stick to the rituals precisely because they were economically very well-placed with large holdings of fertile land. They were enterprising enough to considerably increase production from it. They had economic linkages with Mysore city through kinsmen. Through an "efficient" money-lending business they gained the confidence of the Harijans and the so-called backward castes by their conduct as a more "just" and "fair-minded" caste group.

Apart from observing the strictest rituals in cooking they have a well exclusively for their use and entry into their houses is governed by their ritualistic caste norms. While they did "allow" the Ph. D. Ayyangar female investigator the privileges of her Ayyangar caste, they did not conceal their disapproval of her interaction with other caste groups of the village community.

But then, despite all the rigidity and orthodoxy, the social response of these Ayyangar families was different towards the Harijan PHC doctor. He was allowed free access into their houses, entertained with food and refreshments when he visited them, and entreated to examine sick members of the family by touching them!

In the two Gujarat villages Rupal and Gambhoi, while the Harijans were allowed to hold at least some public posts in the villages reserved for them as a constitutional right, social discrimination against them was more conspicuous and deliberate. They had jobs in the primary school, the Primary Health Centre and elsewhere, but all were forced to stay in separate Harijan colonies with segregated wells and were not allowed entry into houses belonging to non-Harijans. They were made to wait outside the gate when making purchases from shops. Again, there was a Harijan member of the Panchayat as required by the law who had to sit with the rest during formal meetings of the Panchayat. But the member himself as well as other Harijans stated that he dared not say or do anything which would be against the wishes of the dominant Patels and Banias. The Harijans' resentment against this social discrimination was quite palpable. As expected, the educated amongst them were the most vociferous in their condemnation of the behaviour of the caste Hindus.

The Emergency provided an opportunity to them to rise in open revolt against certain discriminatory practices. Two such actions were noted by the investigator when he carried out follow-up studies of the village Rupal. One related to the practice of keeping separate cups for Harijans outside the village tea shop which they had to wash and leave in the same place after use. Taking advantage of the Emergency, when the Harijans threatened legal actions against this practice under the

Prevention of Untouchability Act, the tea-shop owner had to relent.

In another case when a barber refused to cut a Harijan's hair he was taken to the District Court at Himmatnagar, arrested and because of the Emergency, could come out on bail with great difficulty. When his lawyer informed him that he faced the prospect of a fine of a thousand rupees and imprisonment for six months, he broke down completely and sued for out-of-court settlement. But the Harijans would not relent as the barber did not have the financial capacity to meet their terms. The prospect of his children starving during his imprisonment caused him so much anxiety, that he collapsed and died a few days before the judgement was to be delivered. There were bitter reactions among non-Harijan castes to the death of the barber. They complained of the gross misuse of authority during Emergency and pointed out that Chamars were not prosecuted similarly for their discrimination against the Bhangis. The pharmacist of the PHC, who got the job as he was a Harijan Chamar, for instance, will not drink water brought by the PHC sweeper, a Bhangi by caste. This sweeper, as was the case in Rohota, Meerut, was forced to live in a hut quite some distance away from the Chamar colony.

NON-HARIJAN CASTE GROUPS

Three findings stand out sharply in the study of the social and economic relations among non-Harijan castes:

- i. The number of caste groups in individual villages is not only very large, but of such a bewildering variety that it would have been virtually impossible to make a comparative caste ranking and a systematic and detailed comparison of the caste structure of the different villages, even if one wanted to and had the time.
- ii. Economic position and numerical strength, rather than the caste ascribed position in the social hierarchy of the community, count more in the power relations within the villages.
- iii. Even when the economic influence of a caste group is neutralised by social legislation, it does not necessarily lead to changes in class relations. Indeed, often caste relations

are brought through the "backdoor" to create a new pattern of class relations which are equally, if not more, exploitative and oppressive.

In the village Sunni (UP), for instance, with 139 households, apart from three houses of Muslims, the households were distributed among as many as 16 caste groups:

| | | |
|-----|---------|----|
| 1. | Pasi | 23 |
| 2. | Brahmin | 22 |
| 3. | Chamar | 20 |
| 4. | Murao | 16 |
| 5. | Bania | 10 |
| 6. | Dhobi | 9 |
| 7. | Kumhar | 8 |
| 8. | Gadaria | 6 |
| 9. | Nai | 6 |
| 10. | Kahar | 5 |
| 11. | Teli | 3 |
| 12. | Barhai | 3 |
| 13. | Lohar | 2 |
| 14. | Bhurji | 2 |
| 15. | Ahir | 1 |
| 16. | Dhanuk | 1 |

The 87 households in the Gujarat village of Gambhoi had ten caste groups, apart from five Muslim households:

| | | |
|-----|-----------------|----|
| 1. | Thakkara | |
| | (Ravan Rajputs) | 30 |
| 2. | Rajput | 20 |
| 3. | Raval | 8 |
| 4. | Mochi | 7 |
| 5. | Nai | 4 |
| 6. | Tholi | 4 |
| 7. | Darji | 3 |
| 8. | Bagri | 3 |
| 9. | Mahajan | 2 |
| 10. | Patel | 1 |

Similarly, the 197 households in the Karnataka village of Jadigenhalli had 13 caste groups, besides four Muslim households:

| | | |
|-----|-------------|----|
| 1. | Vanhikula | 60 |
| 2. | Vokkaliga | 48 |
| 3. | Nagartha | 17 |
| 4. | Brahmin | 12 |
| 5. | Bhaganthri | 4 |
| 6. | Agase | 4 |
| 7. | Akkasati | 3 |
| 8. | Lingayat | 3 |
| 9. | Reddy | 2 |
| 10. | Kamma Naidu | 1 |
| 11. | Maratha | 1 |
| 12. | Ganga Matha | 1 |
| 13. | Komati | 1 |
| 14. | Ediga | 1 |

The distribution of the caste groups even in the smaller three of the nineteen villages show: (a) a wide scattering of the caste groups and of their numerical strength; (b) the problem of comparing caste structure of one village with that of the others; and (c) the problem of assigning these groups ranks in the social hierarchy.

Aspects of caste structure are further elaborated from a presentation of the politically, socially, economically and numerically important non-Harijan caste groups in these villages:

1. *Haringhata*: 171 Kayastha and 25 Brahmin out of 201 households.
2. *Dakshin Duttapra*: 70 Pando Kayastha and 25 Goala out of 108 households.
3. *Amdanga*: 99 Muslims and 86 Hindus (33 Mahishya) out of 185 households.
4. *Kamdevpur*: 157 Mahishya out of 210 households.
5. *Kachhona*: 62 Bania out of 348 households.
6. *Rohota*: 350 Jat and 82 Brahmin out of 1,121 households.
7. *Sunni*: 23 Pasi, 21 Brahmin and 16 Murao out of 139 households.
8. *Arnavali*: 46 Brahmin and 27 Jat out of 257 households.
9. *Bilaspur*: 28 Jat and 15 Brahmin out of 88 households.
10. *Rohat*: 46 Bania, 43 Brahmin, 38 Ravan Rajput and 34 Chowdhari out of 372 households.

11. *Rampura*: 36 Chowdhari out of 89 households.
12. *Rupal*: 67 Patel, 44 Bania, 23 Rajput and 19 Ravan Rajput out of 345 households.
13. *Gambhloi*: 30 Thakkara and 20 Rajput out of 87 households.
14. *Jadigenhalli*: 60 Vanhikula, 48 Vokkaliga and 17 Nagartha out of 197 households.
15. *Yelwal*: 87 Gowda, 52 Parivar and 23 Brahmin out of 287 households.
16. *Kalur*: 36 Kumhar and 32 Gowda out of 87 households.
17. *Pullambadi*: 453 Odyar and 153 Sarvai, 90 "Non-Harijan" Christians of various "castes" out of 968 households.
18. *Coyalmannam*: 153 Ezhava, 82 Mopla, 72 Brahmin and 52 Nair out of 502 households.
19. *Pazhambalakode*: 71 Mopla, 58 Ezhava and 44 Nair out of 286 households (excluding 394 Tamil weaver households).

How to determine the hierarchical position of the Pande Kayastha, Mahishya, Goala, Murao, Pasi, Kumhar, Gadaria, Thakkara, Raval and Darji of the north Indian villages? What is their ascribed social position according to the norms of pollution and purity? How much are they allowed to move up or down by virtue of their economic and political power and how is this social mobility related to "Sanskritisation"? Similarly, taking the south Indian villages, how does one determine the hierarchical positions of the Odyar, Sarvai, Parivar, Vanhikulas, Ezhava, Nagartha, Kumhar and the various sects of the Gowda and Vokkaliga, taking into account their socially ascribed pollution and purity status and their politically and economically acquired social positions? And then, to get a national overview—how do the south Indian caste groups compare with those of north India?

It is also quite evident from the data that the existing position of the well established castes such as the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas in the social hierarchy are quite different from those traditionally ascribed to them on the basis of norms of purity and pollution.

However, while no attempts are made to rank all the various caste groups, for the purpose of making analysis of the quantitative data, an effort has been made to form clusters of caste groups having some common traits. Six such clusters were

formed for the purpose of computer analysis of the so-called caste and religious factors:

1. Harijans (Chamar, Jatao, Bhangi, Dom, Adikarnataka, Adidravida)
2. Backward Castes (Nai, Dhewar, Kumhar, Jogi, Dhobi, Malba, Lohar, Bhoer, Raval, Julah, Vanhikula, Akkashali, Ediga and Thakkara)
3. Cultivators (Jat, Vokkaliga, Patel, Ahir, Gadaria, Lingayat, Thakur, Kayastha, Kshatriya)
4. Trading Castes (Bania, Soni, Nagartha, Darji, Kansara)
5. Brahmin
6. Muslim

The impact of implementation of the Kerala land reform laws on the social and political positions of the various caste groups within the two Palghat villages—Coyalmannam and Pazhambalakode, provide some valuable insights into the caste relations among non-Harijans. The Brahmins and the Nairs were the losers while the Ezhavas were the gainers from these land reforms. The loss among the Brahmins was more extensive and it caused far-reaching changes in the lives of the individuals and the group as a whole. It gave a big spurt to out-migration among them. The once flourishing Brahmin *Gramas* (settlement) now acquired a ghostly appearance, with more than half the houses permanently locked. The condition of some of those unable to get additional economic support from outside (most of them elderly persons) deteriorated sharply as they ran out of whatever resources they had and finally had to put up with the humiliation of depending on the charity of their former tenants, the Ezhavas.

There was also some deterioration in the economic position and out-migration among Nairs. However, as the extent of land-renting was much less in their case they suffered lesser hardships. The Ezhavas gained with improvement in their economic status giving them political power, as rich Ezhava landholders who could keep the landless labour (mostly Harijans and poor Ezhavas) in their "proper" places. Significantly, when the rich Ezhava landholders were compelled to make concessions, the poor Ezhavas received a relatively favourable dispensation from

them. This enabled the rich Ezhavas to use caste affiliation to strengthen their class positions (a phenomenon observed in all the other eighteen villages). Thus, while the land reforms were of undoubted benefit to the toiling share-croppers of Coyalmannam, they virtually wiped out the Brahmins from the village power structure and considerably weakened the Nairs. As far as the weaker and the exploited classes were concerned, it made little impact on them. Indeed, many of them perceived the new Ezhava landowners as more crafty, devious and untrustworthy than earlier Brahmin and Nair landowners. Data from the Trichy village, Pullambadi, where again the dominance of the Brahmins has been replaced by that of the Odyars, also underline the conclusion that changes in caste relations do not necessarily cause corresponding changes in the relation among the economic classes.

THE MUSLIMS

The data on the place of Muslims in Indian rural life provide interesting insights into the relationships of caste, class and religion. Muslims are not only numerically small, but even when considered proportionately, they are distinctly worse off than most Hindus in economic and political terms. Significantly, despite the absence of caste stratification, class polarisation among the Muslims is more pronounced. Invoking religious solidarity, a few well-off persons among them, strengthened their economic positions by making political use of religion to swell their following. Because of their much weaker bargaining position within the group, the masses of Muslims are able to get an even smaller share of the political and economic power from their leaders than is the case among the non-Harijan Hindus. They are, however, distinctly better off than the Harijans, economically, socially as well as politically.

The Palghat village, Coyalmannam, provides very interesting facts. Even though Muslims are not a majority, their group exercises considerable influence on the community life of the village, because of its economically strong position. However, it is remarkable that even when as a group they are strong, the ratio of the number of the better off to that of the poor is even more unfavourable than what is obtained among other caste

Hindu groups in the same village. The polarisation in economic terms is even more pronounced among the Muslims in the West Bengal village Amdanga, where they form a majority and control the village Panchayat but where they are an economically much weaker group. Again, in the other Palghat village Pazhambalakode, although numerically stronger than they are in Coyalmannam, both proportionately and in absolute terms, they have much less political influence within the village community because of their economic backwardness.

THE CHRISTIANS

The Christian community in the Tiruchirapally village Pullambadi, constitute about 30 per cent of the population. The study of this group provided data on another aspect of the relationship of caste, class, another religion (Christianity) and power. The Christian missionaries, a Roman Catholic Mission and the Tamil Nadu Evangelical Lutheran Church, have been active in this village since 1865. Apart from their concerted evangelical efforts made with a true missionary zeal, these missionaries received several indirect benefits from the British rulers and monetary and other institutional support from Christian organisations, within the country and outside. These significant factors make it an entirely different type of a religious movement as compared, say, to the Arya Samaj movement in the village Bilaspur. The activities of the Christian missionaries can be put under three categories: (a) social, educational and relief activities which are available to all; (b) social and economic activities which are accessible only to Christians; and (c) activities relating to the Christian faith. The Roman Catholics run a higher elementary school (the oldest school in the village) and another primary school for the "Harijan" Christians, which allows admission to Hindu Harijans too. They also run an orphanage for girls from among the Burma evacuees and handle the CARE milk distribution programme. They have launched an ambitious housing programme to build 300 houses for Harijan Christians by getting 10 acres of land for Rs 5000 from the government in 1956 in return for political support to the DMK. They also run a big hospital, the Sahaya Mata Hospital with 70 medical, 45

maternity and 24 leprosy indoor beds and a big and busy outpatient department. Besides, there is the pivot of all the activities of the Catholic Christian community—the dominating St. Anthony's Church.

Compared to the Roman Catholic establishment (280 households), the Lutheran Church has a very modest following of 10 households of converts. They are mostly teachers (in the primary school run by their church) or other white collar workers. They have a small church in which a service is conducted every Sunday by a priest who comes from Tiruchirappally.

Carving a Christian community out of the old Hindu village community is the outcome of the efforts of more than 110 years. Opportunities for education and training, health care, employment, food supplies, persistent proselytising, and probably a reaction against the discrimination inbuilt in the Hindu social order, rather than a position towards the Christian faith and casteless social order advocated by Christianity, seem to have played a very decisive role in the vast majority of conversions. This is evident from the fact that while conversion to Christianity improved the economic positions of some of the converts, it did not have much impact on the social structure, illustrated by the fact that even the third generation converts from among Harijan, Servai and the Odyar keep as much social distance among themselves as their caste counterparts among the Hindus. There is a separate school for Harijan Christians and each Christian "caste" group is endogamous. Barring a few devout Christians, the converts, even the third generation ones, take as casual and ritualistic a view of their religion as their Hindu counterparts.

Indeed, the Church authorities find it very difficult to get them to church services regularly. As many as 90 per cent of the "Harijan Christians" are defaulters, in spite of threats of cutting off CARE food supplements and house allotments. While festivals like Christmas and Easter are celebrated by them as laid down by their preachers, it is St. Anthony's Day (17 January) which is celebrated with all the gusto of the Hindu festival Pongal, with new pots, preparation and consumption of Pongal cooked according to the Hindu custom and fulfilling of vows taken in connection with sickness or any such calamity.

Thus Christianity had a limited impact on the caste and class structure within the Christians themselves, not to speak of any diffusion of such class reconstruction from the Christians to the Hindus, as, for instance, happened with the formation of the Brahmo Samaj. Apart from obtaining some spiritual solace, Christian religion offered some villagers a convenient ladder to climb up economically and socially without materially affecting the basic social structure. These findings about the Christians in Pullambadi are very strikingly similar to those of what Djurfeldt and Lindberg¹ found with regard to Thaiyur—another village in Tamil Nadu.

Conversion to Christianity has occurred among the Thaiyur Harijans during the last century The material rather than spiritual, grew out of the Harijan poor, the growth of the capitalist mode of production, and the consequent decline of the pre colonial mode of production The Christian Churches have had resources to give contributions of charity to Harijans in need, in times of drought and flood, or in old age, when many . . . who have no sons to care for them face starvation.

With a few exceptions, conversion has not brought any revolution in the religious world view of those converted. For many people, Christ is an *ishta-daivam*, among others, a saviour-god comparable to the Hindu Krishna. The Christians have also retained some of their old religious beliefs and practices

¹G. Djurfeldt and S. Lindberg, *Pills Against Poverty, A Study of the Introduction of Western Medicine in a Tamil Village*, (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series No. 23), New Delhi, Oxford and IBH Publishers, 1975.

Leadership, Political Parties, Social and Economic Control

THE DATA

Data on political parties and social and economic control were collected from each of the nineteen villages to have an understanding of (a) the growth and development of village health institutions, more particularly Government-sponsored health and family planning institutions; (b) their influence on the personnel of these institutions; and (c) their role in the shaping of the response of village population to the activities of these institutions.

The nature of leadership and its control on the social and economic life of the population of the study villages show varying patterns. Even through the first round of the study (May 1972 - May 1975) it was possible to observe a considerable degree of stress and strain within the power structures which sustain the leadership in the villages. Direct observation of activities of the leadership to mobilize people in the Gujarat villages of Rupal and Gambhoi for the Lok Sabha by-election to the Sabarkantha constituency in 1974, and for the Navnirman Samiti Movement and Panchayat Samiti election at a block level in Meerut district of U.P. (1973), threw valuable light on the dynamics of the forces which shape the power structure and the leadership. Additional data on this aspect were obtained from a study of: (a) clubs and other formal and informal social and religious institutions in the study villages; (b) interaction of the newly emerging social and political forces with the established leadership in some of the villages; (c) working of the Panchayati Raj institutions; and (d) the response of the leadership and of the village community to certain specific

contingencies, such as a devastating fire, famine conditions, epidemics and organisation of mass vasectomy camps.

The many revisits to the villages gave a clearer understanding of how the leadership structure works over a period of time. The revisits also made it possible to study political parties and village leaderships in the context of some far-reaching events which took place during these years.

UNSTABLE LEADERSHIP

Even in the most neglected and backward villages (e.g. Rohat, Rampura, Kalur and Sunni), the iniquitous character of the social, economic and political relations seemed to generate enough pressure on the leadership for it to respond "less unfavourably" to the needs and aspirations of the neglected sections. As this pressure continuously mounted, the leadership in these villages could no longer be described as "stable" and "well-entrenched". The major factors found to be threatening this stability can be enumerated as follows:

(a) There are distinctly discernible signs of internally generated restiveness among the neglected sections against the prevailing social order.

(b) Repeated opportunities of voting in elections to village Panchayat, Panchayat Samitis, Zila Parishads, state legislatures and the Lok Sabha have contributed to the generation of at least some political consciousness among the neglected sections. This has helped them to articulate grievances and bargain for a better life. (At election times, leaders of different parties and factions vie with one another to win electoral favours from them, particularly Harijans, Muslims and the backward castes. In this process of being made to feel their importance within the community, a much larger proportion of them exercise their franchise).

(c) Internal conflicts of interests among the privileged classes within the village, block, district, region, state and the nation have somewhat eroded the power bases of existing leadership.

(d) Inability of the leadership to stem the tide of mounting problems of hunger, ill-health, unemployment and rapidly growing corruption and nepotism in public life had led to considerable erosion of the credibility of the political leadership.

As pointed out earlier, "development" activities have turned out to be a major source of political power. Political leaders have tended to strengthen themselves by grabbing the bulk of subsidized facilities and programmes. They are also the major beneficiaries from state investments to improve transport and marketing, improved communication, education, health and veterinary services.

However, at the same time, the neglected sections have also become more aware of their rights and more strident in claiming their due share of the "development resources", better wages for their labour, house sites, allocation of the surplus land and other community resources; they have also started to seek legal remedies to ensure social justice. This increase in the forces working in diametrically opposite directions, has led to significant increase in social tensions.

Even the data that were collected from the pre-Emergency period of May 1972 - May 1975 have amply demonstrated that the use of coercive tactics to make persons belonging to the weaker sections accept sterilisation had generated considerable resentment against the government and against the political leadership heading it.¹ The drive to forcibly sterilise many of them and the extensive misuse of administrative machinery during the Emergency antagonised them further against the then ruling political party. Many of them actively participated in the national and state elections in 1977 and enthusiastically joined persons belonging to some other sections of the community in overthrowing the leadership of the then ruling political party.

Significantly, instead of creating a more equitable and, therefore, a relatively more stable equation of power within the community, the post-Emergency leadership dealt yet another rude jolt to the weaker sections when even their very modest gains of the past, for example, allocation of some surplus land, land for house sites, abolition of bonded labour and writing-

¹D. Banerji, "Impact of Rural Health Services on the Health Behaviour of Rural Populations in India: A Preliminary Communication," *EPW*, vol. 8, 22 December 1973, pp. 2261-68; *A Preliminary Communication on a Study of Health Behaviour of Rural Population in India*, New Delhi, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1973.

off the debts, were snatched away from them by the rich farmers, traders and moneylenders who had acquired power in the political change. Thus, without an alternative, in sheer desperation, the poor classes had to fall back on what they had so firmly rejected during the Emergency. However, while they found themselves "back to square one", these very live and personal encounters of these people with the hitherto inexperienced "evil" faces of the two types of leadership had been a valuable political education for them. It gave them an opportunity to see for themselves the sharp clash of interests of the two exploiting parties. They could also realise how they could use this conflict among the rulers to wrest more concessions from them. This experience also sensitised them to the need for an alternative political organisation more sympathetic to their cause.

For instance, after voting Janata in the March 1977 Lok Sabha election, the bulk of the Harijans of Rohota and Arnavali shifted their support back to the Congress in the elections to the UP state legislature, in June 1977. When interviewed by the author on this issue, groups of Harijans of Rohota and Arnavali responded by countering: "What other choice do we have? Can you tell us of any other party which can really help downtrodden people like us?"

More detailed data will be presented later in this chapter to underline the fact that there is a ferment within rural populations which poses a constant threat to the "stability" of the leadership. The degree of the ferment and its impact on the leadership is determined by a very large number of rather complex factors which cannot always be foreseen, forecast or quantified. No effort has, therefore, been made here to make more definitive assertions concerning social, economic and political consequences of this ferment amongst the exploited segments of rural populations.

PROFILES OF LEADERSHIP

The leadership structure, its functioning, strength and the degree of its control over the community varied from one village to another and from time to time, reflecting the dynamics of the power structure prevailing in the different villages. It

can, however, be safely asserted that the old order comprising of absolute dominance of the landlords has been wiped out from all the villages. The vestigial remnants of that order are observed in almost all the villages. The crumbling, desolate mansions in the villages Haringhata (Nadia), Kamdevpur (24-Parganas) and Rupal (Sabarkantha) in which the descendants of the once despotic lords live in utter destitution, provide a vivid picture of the death and decay of the old order.

In sharp contrast with these three dilapidated mansions was the shining high-walled fortress-palace at the very heart of the village Rohat (Pali). Rohat is a desert village, falling very low in terms of civic amenities among the nineteen study villages. But this palace has its own power-generating unit, supply of potable water and many other modern amenities. It belongs to Raghvendra Singh, a former local Jagirdar (chieftain) who managed to change his leadership style with the winds of change. Cashing in on feudal and caste loyalties and his power of patronage he not only captured the village Panchayat but also the local Panchayat Samiti of about 100 villages. In turn, this democratically acquired power enabled him to strengthen his power base. In the early sixties, he also joined a political party, the Swatantra Party, not simply because it advocated conservatism, but also because it was then the ruling party in the state of Rajasthan. Later, when the Congress Party came to power in the state, he joined it. When the 1967 split came, he gambled in favour of the Congress (O). And when this gamble snowballed, he shifted his loyalty to Congress (R). In the wake of Emergency excesses, there was a Janata wave when he re-discovered his links with Congress (O) and the Swatantra Party, both of which had merged with the Janata Party. However, from then onwards he began facing rough weather, because a number of social changes had already taken place in Rohat. His position as a leader had become unstable. The trading castes had acquired considerable economic power. Earlier, they had never thought of challenging the authority of Raghvendra Singh, but now they openly asserted themselves. Raghvendra Singh got the Janata nomination for the Pali constituency of the state legislature from the state branch of the Janata Party for the 1977 elections to the Rajasthan State Legislature. But at the national

level of the party, this was reversed in favour of another candidate who was backed by the traders, at the instance of the local Lok Sabha member beholden to the traders' lobby for his own election. When, in sheer desperation, Raghvendra Singh sounded the community of the village Rohat itself on the possibility of his standing as an independent candidate, even the traders' community in his own village, who were earlier so submissive and meek, openly expressed their opposition. Raghvendra Singh stood as an independent candidate and suffered a humiliating defeat.

As a Jagirdar, Raghvendra Singh owned large tracts of land around Rohat. However, to establish his democratic and progressive credentials during the Congress rule, he had organised a grand public function to distribute land deeds to the tillers of his land. After having extracted all the political and public relations mileage from the show, he took back the papers from the farmers "to be kept in his safe custody". Raghvendra Singh was educated at Mayo College, Ajmer. With his link with the Jodhpur Palace, he had managed to attain enough popularity among the social celebrities of Jodhpur city to get elected as the president of the local Rotary Club. His children were studying in exclusive(public) schools in Mount Abu, Ajmer and Delhi.

An account of Pramode Bharati of the village Arnavali presents a profile of the *New Men* in village leadership. His father, though belonging to rich landed Jat gentry, was a local pioneer in the fight against untouchability as an active member of the Socialist Party. This had once earned him a seat in the Lok Sabha. Bharati, in keeping with this tradition, had been on very cordial terms with the Harijans, constituting 44 per cent of the village population. Harijans had free access to his house, where they flocked to watch television. In 1974 Bharati happened to be the only one in the village to own a television set. The support of the Harijans earned him control over the village Panchayat. But all his socialistic assertions and identifications with the underdogs did not come in the way of his owning large areas of irrigated land and dodging compulsory levy on his produce during the scarcity years of 1973 and 1974. While he claimed to be a follower of the 'Angrezi Hatao' movement of the Socialist Party, he employed a Harijan to take his children daily on

a bicycle all the way to their exclusive English medium public schools in Meerut and bring them back.

As has been pointed out during the discussion of caste and power in Chapter 5, only in the case of Harijans does caste become a major handicap in coming to leadership positions in the community. Among the non-Harijans, the most important factors are money and numbers. Applying these criteria, it is possible to place the leadership in the nineteen villages under three broad categories.

In the first category there are villages led, both at the formal and informal levels, by persons who are not only economically strong, but belong to a caste or religion which forms the numerical majority in the village. Eight villages—Dakshin Duttapara, Kamdevpur, Bilaspur, Rohat, Rampura, Rupal, Kalur and Pulambadi—have this type of leadership. The case of Raghvendra Singh of village Rohat, discussed above, falls in this category.

There are other villages that do not have a numerical majority of any non-Harijan group and where the leadership is formed by a group or groups on the basis of mobilisation of Harijan or other caste groups as a result of economic pressure and/or political concessions. Seven villages—Haringhata, Sunni, Rohota, Arnavali, Pazhambalakode and Coyalmannam—fall under this category. The case of Pramode Bharati of village Arnavali, discussed above, provides an instance of this. Leaders in these villages are required to have much higher political skills than their counterparts in the other group. The Bania leader Radhakrishna of the village Kachhona (Hardoi) for instance, has acquired a Master's degree in commerce and a law degree, to rise to the post of Deputy Registrar, Co-operatives, of the Government of U.P., at a fairly young age. He then resigned his government job for an important position in the trading community of the village. He used his business connections to build up a sizable following among the poor, mostly the Harijans and the backward castes, by advancing loans in times of need. Similarly, the Brahmin leader of Rohota (Meerut) gained the confidence of the big Chamar and Bhangi groups of Harijans by his political skills in showing sympathy for them. He also earned the respect of the entire village by increasing the productivity of his land through innovative agricultural methods

and by participating in rural programmes of the All-India Radio to communicate these ideas to other farmers and projecting an image of honesty and rectitude to all sections of the community.

The affluent Ezhava and Mopla castes of Coyalmannam and Pazhambalakode in Palghat district have got together using their economic strength to mobilize their respective groups to gain political control over the two villages. In turn, this political control enabled them to extract substantial economic and political concessions from the leadership at the district and state levels.

Thirdly, there are villages where the majority community happens to be economically not so strong and the leadership usually weak and amenable to pulls and pressures from the minority groups which are in an economically stronger position. Four villages belong to this group—Amdanga, Gambhoi, Jadigenhalli and Yelwal. In Amdanga (24 Parganas), the wife of the village priest, who happens to be an active worker of the Forward Bloc Party, mobilised the Hindus, more particularly the Hindu women, to influence the Muslim dominated Panchayat of which she is a member. The Thakkara head of the Panchayat of the Gambhoi (Sabarkantha) is a mere figurehead and leans heavily for advice and directions on the influential Rajput minority. The Vokkaliga dominated Panchayat of Jadigenhalli is subjected to pressure from the economically influential Nagarcha and Vanhikula castes. In Yelwal (Mysore), the affluent and economically powerful Brahmins have mobilised the Harijans and other backward classes to act as a significant counterbalance to the power of the numerically superior and moderately prosperous Gowdas.

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

A degree of tension and restiveness with regard to the prevailing social order is present in almost every society. However, as has been pointed out earlier, presumably as a result of the high concentration of power in the hands of more prosperous sections, widespread acute poverty, and social discrimination against Harijans, in all the study villages, social tension was found to be more pronounced and palpable. The atrocities committed during the Emergency and the resulting political backlash had created conditions which intensified the pressure

for bringing about greater democratisation of the political system.

Reference has also been made in Chapter 7 to the actions mounted by the Chamar section of the Harijans of Rupal (Sabarkantha) against some discriminatory practices. Even in villages, some of them quite remote, possibilities of having Shri Jaggivan Ram as the Prime Minister of India was a consideration among the Chamars of Rohota in making their voting decision for the Lok Sabha elections of March 1977. This indicates development of some political consciousness among them. The Harijans of Yelwal had organised themselves around their caste headman—Hejman—to get redressal of some of their pressing grievances. The Harijans of Pullambadi (Trichy), both Christian and Hindu, and the Harijans of the Palghat villages—Coyalmannam and Pazhambalakode, have been openly expressing their bitterness against the oppression and injustice of the ruling classes.

The organised actions by the landless peasants of the Palghat villages—Coyalmannam and Pazhambalakode,—under the leadership of the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M), with A.K. Gopalan as a symbol of their aspirations, represent a distinctly higher level of political consciousness and organisation among the exploited sections of a rural population. These are the only villages where the landless have formed a labour union.

In terms of social ferment leading to political consciousness and political action, the four villages of West Bengal—Haringhata, Dakshin Duttapara, Amdanga and Kamdevpur—stand out. Four major factors distinguish them from the rest.

Perhaps the most striking feature is the political consciousness and mobilisation among the youth. This has eroded the power of the older generation of leaders more than in the other fifteen villages.

Secondly, as a sequel to the ferment among the youth, each one of the villages has one or more youth clubs. These are very active organisations which involve the youth not simply in recreation and sports, but also in such social activities as rushing patients to hospitals, organising the annual Durga Puja and other festivals, arranging Jatras and cinema shows and helping

in the last rites of the dead. These clubs are actively related to different political parties—CPI-I, Congress (R), Forward Bloc, etc. They organise processions, complete with placards and banners, lusty shouting of slogans and demonstrations within the village on various political issues. They also send delegates to participate in political activities at district, state and even national levels.

Thirdly, apart from the very live existence of political parties of different ideologies and pretensions, there is considerable interaction and heated discussions amongst villagers on specific political and social issues including those transcending the village level or even rural and state level problems. For instance, Nripen Byapari, a barely literate CPI-M activist in Haringhata in late 1977 spoke about the organisational response to oppressive actions of the state government. "We avoided the mistakes of the Indonesian comrades and we sent most of our activists underground." Even if this turns out to be a stray, isolated remark, it has considerable significance.

Fourthly, the overthrow of the United Front Government through blatant rigging of the polls in 1971, use of police and professional toughs to liquidate activists of the CPI-M, very high rates of unemployment, rising prices, rampant political corruption, etc., have contributed to the politicisation of the population. Another CPI-M activist, on the subject of 1971 elections to the state legislatures, observed, "When I went to the booth to cast my vote, a tough-looking fellow told me menacingly, 'Your vote has already been cast and if you do not want any trouble, go home.' As I turned to go back, he added, 'Your wife's vote has been cast.' 'Is that so?' I asked, and added, 'She had died two years ago.'"

VILLAGE POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

The political and administrative system of a village has three major components: (a) Traditional institutions encapsulating the village culture, for example, caste Panchayats, council of village elders, village arbitrators, etc., (b) Statutory institutions for local self-government at the village, block and district levels; and (c) The machinery of the government at the village and at higher levels which provides the administrative

framework for bulk of village level activities, administration of judiciary and various services in a wide variety of social and economic fields.

Since independence, there have been some fundamental changes in the administration at the village level. The overtly coercive, extortative, exploitative and repressive laws and practices of the colonial and pre-colonial days have been toned down or abandoned altogether. Alongside, there has been an almost exponential growth in administrative activities to promote welfare of the people in social and economic fields.

The very expansion of these activities has brought about a sharper clash of the two cultures, the value systems and the economic and social interests of the providers of the services and the recipients of the services in the village. How competent and committed are those entrusted with the task of improving village life in India? How relevant are innovations to the ways of the villagers? What are the perceptions of the administrators of the people they are to serve? How far have they succeeded in winning the confidence of the different sections of the village population? Answers to such questions have been obtained in the course of this study and they have an important bearing on the political and social systems at the village level.

The perception of the lowest ranking functionary of the health services—the Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) by Harijan women in the village Kachhona (see Chapter 4), as a "Mem" vividly shows the yawning gulf between the two worlds. To these Harijans the local *Dai* is a part of their own community, she talks in the same dialect, is available whenever required, disposes of the placenta, cleans the soiled clothes, massages the mother and takes care of the infant, etc. The ANM, on the other hand, is perceived as an alien person. It is also significant that, on their own initiative, these very Harijans have learnt to actively seek out assistance from the ANM, the PHC lady doctors or even specialists in bigger hospitals in far away towns and cities when they realise that the competence of the *Dai* is not adequate to cope with some specially complicated problems of childbirth. This study has brought out numerous cases which show that to acquire these special services, villagers make great sacrifices (getting loans at exorbitant interest rates

to acquire the services, making enormous efforts needed in transporting the patient and her attendants, bribing officials to obtain "favours" of various kinds, etc).

Distrust of Outsiders

Based on their cumulative past experience of outsiders, both as promoters of "development" as well as those actively sought out by them to get assistance in times of dire need, many of the villagers have developed a deep-seated distrust, fear, cynicism and even hostility towards outsiders. Such a feeling was discernible in varying degrees in each of the nineteen villages of the study. There is a tendency among many of them to shun interaction with outsiders and as far as possible, try to find solutions to their problems within the cultural framework of the village community. Compared to all the harassment, corruption, manoeuvring, manipulation, deception, etc., that are involved in seeking redressal of grievances from the police, revenue officials and the judiciary, a solution at the local community level is preferred, particularly by the poorer and oppressed sections of the village population. The poor are fully aware that even within the cultural framework of the village community, the scales of justice are heavily tilted against them. However, having experienced the evil ways of the "outsiders", they tend to choose the lesser evil, the "known evil".

Because of this inclination a number of instances of active suppression of information regarding crimes was observed in the study villages. In such situations the entire village community presents a united front to keep out the police. In the first place, they try to see that the police do not get any information on the crime. Otherwise, they make it virtually impossible for the police to proceed with the case by withholding evidence and clues relating to a crime.

While she was carrying out field work in the village Dakshin Duttapara (Nadia), the investigator got news that the young girl, Sushila, aged 12 years, whom she (i.e. the investigator) had known well, had committed suicide by hanging herself, following an argument with her father. Deeply distressed, the investigator rushed to her hut. By that time the body had

already been taken away by the family and the neighbours, and cremated. The investigator could, however, still see the noose hanging from the roof of the hut which nobody thought of removing in their anxiety to dispose of the body as soon as possible so as to avoid harassment by the police. Five more instances of suicide by consumption of Follidol were recorded during the investigator's stay in Haringhata, Amdanga and one in Kamdevpur. They were similarly hushed up.

While working in the village Jadigenhalli (Bangalore), the investigator could get enough evidence to establish that somebody had murdered a cowherd by beating him up severely and throwing the body in the tank. That it was a case of murder was quite apparent to the villagers. However, instead of seeking help from the police to track down the murderer, both the family members as well as the villagers at large, took most expeditious steps to dispose the body and saw to it that the police kept out of the case. They wanted to avoid harassment in getting the body released after the post-mortem examination and of going through the cumbersome and expensive judicial processes.

Traditional Political Institutions

Because of this lack of trust in outside agencies, villagers have not entirely given up their traditional institutions to settle many legal issues like thefts, land disputes, disputes connected with digging of wells, and decisions concerning community road construction or running of the village temple. The traditional institution of Council of Elders was particularly prominent in Dakshin Duttapara (Nadia). When a dispute is brought before the council, the village chowkidar informs the other members of council and the village populace. The case is discussed in detail and finally the head of the council pronounces the verdict. As punishment, the accused party may be fined Rs 5 or be made to rub his nose on the ground before the gathering. Only when the matter is too complicated and the Council is unable to arrive at a verdict, they advise the party to take the matter to the police.

There was the case of a serious quarrel between the sister of Shyam Mondol and the wife of Jyoti Nag of the village Dakshin Duttapara. The son of Mondol joined in this and severely beat

up the wife of Nag, causing considerable injuries, for which she had to be taken to the PHC at Haringhata for treatment. As the head of the council was away, the accused was kept locked up in a room. When the council met the next day, Shyam Mondol and his son were severely rebuked and reprimanded in public. Mondol was ordered to meet all the expenses for the treatment of the victim and pay a fine. As Mondol was extremely poor, it was ordered that the quantum of the fine would be decided after the victim had recovered fully.

The village Yelwal (Mysore) has a "two tier" council. Disputes within a caste group are sought to be solved by the caste headman—the Hejman. In case that is not possible or when inter-caste disputes are involved, they all go to Gopal Ayyangar, who has a reputation of being very wise, just and even-handed in pronouncing his verdicts.

It is significant that it is mostly the privileged sections who invoke the help of outside agencies for resolution of disputes. Many such disputes arise as a result of conflicts within their own class over land, irrigation facilities or grazing rights. They also use these agencies as a weapon to harass and punish recalcitrant villagers from the poorer sections who dare displease them by their actions.

Statutory Panchayats

It has to be noted that the statutory organisations of local self-government—the Panchayati Raj institutions—have come into existence as a result of the interplay of complex forces. Cultural tradition of village administration, shifts in the village power structure, power interests of the bureaucracy and political commitment at higher levels to democratic decentralisation of power, can be cited as the major factors. However, these concessions are made by political leaders at higher levels with utmost reluctance. The bureaucracy has tried to see that the actual delegation of power to Panchayati Raj institutions is kept to the minimum. They have done this with tacit if not active support of the political leadership. Also, while doing so, the bureaucrats keep up the facade of democratic decentralisation.

Further, the nature of the power structure at the village, block and district levels is such that the villagers have not been

able to evolve a suitable leadership which can make effective use of whatever power is delegated to them.

Contradictions within the village community are too sharp to allow Panchayats to function as democratic institutions (see Chapter 4). This provides additional excuses to the combine of politicians and bureaucrats at higher levels to withhold any further delegation of power to the people.

At the time of the first round of the study (1972-75), village Panchayats were virtually paralysed in all the villages. In as many as sixteen out of nineteen villages the state governments had repeatedly put off holding Panchayat elections for ten years or more on various patently unconvincing and untenable pretexts. In many instances, the rival power factions of the villages raised various legal questions on elections and obtained stay orders from courts. In all the villages it was observed that the work of the old Panchayat was grossly mismanaged with total neglect of such basic functions as environmental sanitation, provision of potable water supply and reporting of births and deaths. Electricity supply to the village streets are often disconnected for defaults in payment.

One of the most significant findings of the study of the Panchayats is that after the combine of politicians and bureaucrats ensured a virtual demise of these institutions, they used the mummified "corpus" of the Panchayats to promote their own brand of "developmental" activities. After all, the members of the old Panchayat are also "community leaders" and they play a crucial role in promoting political interests of the leadership at higher levels.

This mummified corpus comes very handy to the combine to distribute patronage to those who count politically in the village. This patronage is in the form of providing supply agencies for distribution of essential goods, contracts for rural public works, positions of directors of co-operatives and advisers to commercial banks for giving rural credit, and other such lucrative assignments. In addition, various kinds of government functionaries find in the mummified corpus a most convenient instrument for "mobilisation" of the rural population for launching such "social movements" as family planning, mass

immunisation, adult literacy, programmes for uplift of women, land reforms, social education and so on.

As has been pointed out above, only in the two Gujarat villages Rupal and Gambhoi and in the Tamil Nadu village Pullambadi, was the control of the administration in the hands of elected representatives. However, this has made little impact on the lives of the villagers, particularly of the weaker sections. For instance, in Pullambadi, the ANM was under the administrative control of the Panchayat Union (equivalent to Panchayat Samities in North India) which led to further determination of the services provided by her. Again, in the same village, the Panchayat Union was under the control of the DMK, while the village Panchayat was controlled by the Congress (O). This caused numerous conflicts to the detriment of the interests of the population.

In Gujarat, the personnel of the Primary Health Centre were under the control of the elected Zila Parishad. Again, this innovation did not bring about any improvement in the functioning of the PHC at Rupal to distinguish it from the other ten PHCs included in the study. The members of the village Panchayats of Rupal and Gambhoi had virtually nothing to do with the functioning of the PHC. The Zila Parishad exercised all power.

Rajasthan was the state which inaugurated the experiment of democratic decentralisation through Panchayati Raj with considerable fanfare in 1959. By 1973, when field work started in the village Rohat and Rampura in Rajasthan, it was not possible to find any trace of the philosophy of Panchayati Raj. Official circles and politicians now project the states of Gujarat and Tamil Nadu (besides Maharashtra) as show pieces of successful implementation of the Panchayati Raj Programme. Zila Parishads in Gujarat and Panchayat Unions in Tamil Nadu are considered focal points for democratisation of rural development programmes. As the present study was confined to villages in these two states, functioning of the institutions at the block and district levels was not observed. However, from observations at the village level it can be asserted that if democratisation means people's involvement in the planning, formulation, implementation and monitoring of various development

programmes, Rupal, Gambhoi and Pullambadi did not in any way appear more remarkable than the other sixteen villages.

That it is indeed possible to have much greater participation of people at the village level was demonstrated in the four West Bengal villages in the course of revisits. When these villages elected new Panchayats in 1978, after a lapse of fifteen years, they demonstrated how by effectively mobilising the population they could more effectively implement the Food for Work Programmes, the Integrated Rural Development Scheme, flood relief and rehabilitation programmes, movement to improve the social and economic status of women, environmental sanitation, medical care, co-operatives, and so on. The newly elected Panchayats (in 1981) in the Kerala villages Coyalmanam and Pazhambalakode have also showed promising signs of getting greater community mobilisation for developmental programmes. Similar enthusiasm was also observed (in 1980 and 1981) in Jadigenhalli.

It will not be too far-fetched to conclude on the basis of a comparison of data from these three villages of Gujarat and Tamil Nadu (i.e. Rupal, Gambhoi and Pullambadi) with those from sixteen other villages, that substitution of a political boss for a bureaucratic boss has been the main achievement where the programme for democratic decentralisation has been allowed to function. Within the existing social and political setting, this substitution has not brought about any perceptible improvement in the efficiency of the administration. Nor has it inspired any community involvement in development programmes. To the poverty-stricken villages, it means replacement of one evil by another.

Study of the role of politicians and bureaucrats in the so-called programme of democratic decentralisation has brought out interesting data on readjustment of the relationship between the two. Understandably after independence the bureaucrats did not relish the shift of power from them to political leaders. In their turn, the political leaders at higher levels did not want the power to be shared by those at lower level. Data from this study has shown that, having acquired the power from the bureaucracy, the political leaders at various levels have managed to mollify the latter by:

- (a) allowing the bureaucracy much greater freedom to make "use" of the authority that has been allowed to remain with it; and
- (b) by increasing the size of the cake by clamouring for greater decentralisation of power and more intensive "developmental" efforts i.e. more contracts, more money for credit distribution, greater opportunities for getting people appointed in the public services, etc.

In this way, instead of reflecting the aspirations of the people more faithfully and giving primacy to their interests, the process of the so-called democratic decentralisation and rural development has resulted in a much closer adjustment of the interests of the newly emerging political leaders and the bureaucrats at various levels. This serves the interests of those who control the political and economic life of the nation very well. By strengthening this combine of local political bosses and the bureaucrats, they are able to stifle or at least bypass the major thrust of democratic forces in rural areas. This also simplifies the task of those among the emerging ruling elites who aspire to get a berth in the ruling combine. When they are able to demonstrate their ability to control enough votes by virtue of their economic and political "strength", they are "rewarded" with a place in the combine. This ensures that the masses are kept at their "proper place", while the cleverer and wiler among the younger members of the ruling classes get an opportunity of moving upward in the leadership scale.

However, this link-up between the rural elites and the bureaucrats has also provoked reactions among the masses. As has been repeatedly discussed earlier, this study has revealed that while there is a great deal of frustration, sullenness and cynicism and even a feeling of fatalism among the exploited sections of the population, there is also considerable discontent and anger—admittedly, very often impotent anger—among some components of the exploited sections of the population. These people have made use of whatever democratic and administrative devices they have, to give vent to their feelings. This was dramatically demonstrated during the Lok Sabha poll of 1977.

When these devices have been blocked or when such channels are found to be inadequate, these people have actively created

alternative channels. Extension of the Naxalbari movement within the four West Bengal villages—Haringhata, Dakshin Duttapara, Amdanga and Kamdevpur—is an example. While this is not intended as a detailed study of the confrontation of the Naxalites with the established authorities, the very existence of such a movement in the villages is an indication of the response of the exploited people.

Biplab Biswas had been an active member of the Kohinoor Club of Amdanga (24 Parganas), working as its secretary. He was politically quite active and deeply resented the exploitation of the poor by the rich. Quite suddenly one day, he absconded to evade arrest by the police. Only then the family learnt that he had been a Naxalite. Nothing has been heard of him since he disappeared on 26 December 1972. He had been a bright student and had got a good job in a co-operative bank in Calcutta after studies. His financial contribution was of great help to his ailing father, who is a railway employee and has to support a family of ten. Biswas was also a great source of inspiration to his brothers and sisters. They had also to forego the financial support which they needed so desperately. Over and above, the entire family was under constant police surveillance. To be on the safe side, people in the village started avoiding them and the entire family was socially ostracised.

The four West Bengal villages also provide several other instances of the revolt of the youth against traditional leadership. This revolt has been a part of the state-wide political movement which brought in the United Front ministry in West Bengal in 1967 and again in 1969. As a counter move, these villages also experienced the terror that was let loose on the young activists following the overthrow of that government in 1971.² They also witnessed the open rigging of the election of 1971 to the state legislature. They also saw how two counter youth organisations—the Chhatra Parishad and Youth Congress—were brought into being overnight by the old leadership and local anti-social elements were employed by these organisations to liquidate the revolt of the youth. Many youth leaders and active political workers were severely beaten up

and a few were even put to death. Many others went underground. No trace was left of yet others. In 1972-74, when a detailed study of the villages was being carried out, the Chhatra Parishad and the Youth Congress were receiving considerable patronage and support from the entire government machinery including the police. With this support, they could keep the earlier youth movement totally subdued and suppressed.

During the Emergency, this blockage of access for villagers to the previously established democratic and administrative channels was practised much more openly and at times with even greater ruthlessness, throughout the country in general and in the states of north India in particular. Even though the degree of political consciousness in the remaining fifteen villages was much less than what was prevailing in the West Bengal villages, in these villages also there have been several instances of resistance in the form of rearguard action, evasive manoeuvres and even desperate and utterly foredoomed frontal armed attacks against the police. The people's response to Emergency atrocities culminated in the victory of the opposition in the general elections in March 1977. The consequent reopening of the earlier democratic administrative channels enabled the people to exert much greater pressure on the system and because of this they could wrest greater concessions from it.

This is most evident in the West Bengal villages, where the earlier youth movement regained its momentum while the Chhatra Parishad and Youth Congress-led activists evaporated as quickly as they had come into being. One consequence of these changes was that closely following on the election of the members of Lok Sabha and members of the State Legislature of West Bengal from the constituencies covered by these four villages, the residents elected an entirely new set of people to head the respective village Panchayats. In the remaining fifteen villages there have also been changes in the power balance in favour of the underprivileged sections, though the degree of this change was less pronounced. In the nine villages belonging to the north Indian states of U.P., Haryana, Rajasthan and Gujarat even though there were changes in representatives in Parliament and respective state legislatures, the village leadership structure

²A. Mitra, *The Hoodlum Years*, New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1979.

remained almost intact. But it came under heavier pressure to respond to the aspirations of the underprivileged sections.

As will be discussed in greater details in Chapter 10, similar increase in the pressure from the underprivileged was also noted in the six villages of south Indian states of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, even though the political complexion of their representatives in the parliament and in the respective state legislatures remained almost unchanged.

ACTIVITIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The villages can be divided into three categories in terms of activities of political parties:

- i. Villages where political parties are quite active and visible;
- ii. Villages where membership of a political party is considered as a convenient label by the village leadership to keep in line with those who control political power at higher levels; and
- iii. Villages where the leadership considers this labelling against their interests and avoid identifying with any political party.

The village Pullambadi of Tamil Nadu stood out sharply in terms of visibility of political parties. There was the Congress (O) Mandapam, Congress (R) Mandapam and DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) Mandapam. All three were situated in the very heart of the village and all engaged in feverish competition with one another in terms of colour and glitter of Mandapams, blare of loudspeakers pouring out film music from the top of tall flagpoles. But there was little in terms of ideological encounters among them. The fight was more in terms of glamour and personalities of the leaders of the respective parties and how much they had been able to give to the people who counted in the village.

Political ideology was a major consideration in the alignment of villagers with political parties in Coyalmannam and Pazham-balakode in the neighbouring state of Kerala. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, these are the only villages where the poor landless and tenant farmers have been organised in the form of a labour union under the leadership of a political party—the CPI-M. Interestingly, ranged against them are parties

of the ruling alliance of Congress (R) and CPI, which are backed by more affluent and economically dominant sections of the population. In this connection the efforts of the members of the Praja Socialist Party (PSP), which is also a member of the political alliance ruling the state and which controls the health portfolio in the state government, to extend the influence of the party with the help of the patronage offered through the health department, was interesting. Apart from getting political support for the party, health services personnel were encouraged to support the party financially so that "people of the health department in Trivandrum" were kept happy and these (PHC) personnel did not suffer from harassments in the form of transfers and various other kinds of administrative manoeuvres.

The clash of political ideology then was most conspicuous in the four West Bengal villages which had experienced political moves of the Congress (R) to suppress parties supporting the United Front government of West Bengal in 1967. As counter to such suppression, these four villages experienced intense political activities culminating in the victory of the left parties—Janata alliance at the Lok Sabha poll in March 1977 and success of the United Left Front of the CPI-M, the Forward Bloc, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and some other parties in the election to the state legislature a few months later. This was followed by the sweeping success of the CPI-M in the elections to the Panchayats at the village, *anchal* and district levels in 1978.

The account of Raghvendra Singh of the Rajasthan village of Rohat, who shifted his position innumerable times, provides an instance of changing political labels of leaders to suit the exigencies of the political situation at state and national levels. The Gowda leadership in the Karnataka villages of Jadigenhalli, Yelwal and Kalur have also changed their labels from Congress (O) to Congress (R) according to the shifting allegiance of the Gowda leaders of the taluk, district and state levels. Mention has already been made about the leadership of the Socialist Party in the village Arnavali. The Jat farmers of the villages of Rohota, Arnavali and Bilaspur flaunt the label of Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD). The Banias of Kachhona are supporters

of the Jana Sangh.

However, the dominant trend even in the most politicised of villages of West Bengal, Kerala and Tamil Nadu is to avoid getting stuck with a label of a political party, not to speak of having a firm political ideology. This trend was almost absolute in the nine villages of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Haryana. This gave the influential people of these villages much greater flexibility to bargain more effectively with the political leadership at higher levels.

The split in the Congress Party in 1969 provided a vivid illustration of the relationship of caste, class, power and political affiliations in rural India. The pace was set by struggle for power at the national level to control both the government and the party machine. This struggle was essentially a fight among those who formed the very top of the hierarchy of the government and of the party, namely the Prime Minister of the country, the chief ministers of states and their cabinet colleagues, on one side and the party chiefs and their executives, on the other side. The financial supporters from the business and industry as usual played their vital role from behind the scene. The members of Parliament and state legislatures and the political bosses at the district level were mobilised as soldiers by these generals. The outcome of the fight was a major redistribution of power among the victorious generals. Having wrested their opponents at the national level by retaining their hold on the Union Government, the Congress (R) used this advantage to capture the governments in the majority of states.

The impact of the power struggle at the apex was felt at the base. It is, however, significant that the impact at the base—at the village level—was not even on the issues which led to the split at the top. It was much more naked in terms of access to power. There has been a virtual stampede among the village bosses to side with the Congress (R) in the states where Congress (R) captured the government (Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan and partly Kerala), leading to almost extinction of Congress (O). In the states where Congress (O) managed to withstand the pressure of the Union Government (Gujarat and Karnataka), the village bosses held steadfastly to it. The sole aim of the leadership is to cling to power and they do not want

issues of political scruples, convictions, morality and conscience or ideological commitment to come in the way.

Political repercussions of the split in Pullambadi were quite different from the rest in many ways. In the first place, as Tamil Nadu was dominated by a regional party (the DMK), the national split in the Congress did not have that much of an impact. A more important consideration was the deep-seated loyalty of the villagers to K. Kamaraj who sided with the Congress (O) and who became one of its major leaders. Kamaraj had won the admiration of the people of Pullambadi not by his charisma but by having greater rapport with the people and by responding to their needs, which included some of the needs of the poor and downtrodden.

The Pullambadi Canal and the housing scheme for Harijans, which were implemented during his time as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, had earned Kamaraj the respect and affection of all sections of the village population. This bond was so strong in Pullambadi that it withstood the "DMK wave" that swept the state and the "Indira wave" that swept the Congress Party after its split. The Panchayat Union was swept off by the "DMK wave", but the villagers of Pullambadi remained loyal to Kamaraj and the village Panchayat remained a Congress (O) citadel. Only when Kamaraj passed away and there was a split in the DMK, did the people of the village feel free to look for new pastures in other political parties.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

The two Gujarat villages, Rupal and Gambhoi, provided very useful data on the interrelationship of political activities at the village, state and national levels. In 1969, the influential sections of the leadership of these villages were followers of the Congress (O) which was the ruling party in the state. But the Congress (R) leadership of the Union Government used its various resources to counter the power of patronage of the state leadership. Finally, after a bitterly contested struggle, it managed to oust the Congress (O) government in the state. This strengthened the influence of the other sections of the leadership in the two villages. But before long, the opposition

started to assert itself when the employment situation worsened and it caused unrest among university students. Prices also started to rise, cost of agricultural production started to go up, cutting the margin of the surplus farmers and there was a general deterioration in the law and order situation in the state.

The Lok Sabha by-election for the Sabarkantha constituency provided an inside view of the mechanism of mobilising villagers for an election. It was observed that money played an important part not only in meeting the cost of an expensive election campaign and transport of villagers to the polling stations but also in trying to "buy" votes. Agents from the rival parties visited the study villages and developed contacts with influential persons who are capable of delivering votes to their respective candidates. One such contact was Lalit Kumar Chawda, who talked freely to the investigator about how Congress(R) workers had contacted him and left money with him to ensure that it was distributed to Harijans through their headman on the condition that their votes would go to Congress(R). Not to be left behind in the game, the opposition also mobilised considerable funds to interest people in their candidate. Further, the opposition capitalised on the acts of omission and commission of the Congress(R) government, both at the state and central levels, and they skilfully appealed to the local patriotism of the villagers by asking them to vote for a sister of the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who was their candidate. A large section of the village population got swayed by the efforts of the Opposition and their candidate got an overwhelming majority of the votes from Rupal and Gambhoi. Similar shifts had obviously taken place in other villages of the constituency.

Anti-government feelings in Gujarat gathered greater momentum with further deterioration of the situation and it culminated in a massive students' movement. The Navnirman Samiti Movement started from Ahmedabad and soon spread to other cities of the state. The students then tried to get the villagers involved. Busloads of student members of the Samiti came to Rupal from Ahmedabad, shouting slogans and exhorting the villagers to join their movement to overthrow what they

branded as a corrupt and anti-people government in Ahmedabad. The investigator also noted the enthusiastic response of certain affluent and influential sections of the villagers to the call of the Navnirman Samiti. No efforts were made by the Samiti workers to involve the poorer sections of the population in the movement, and neither was there any response to the political struggle from the latter. They remained passive to the political struggle between the two sections of the better off population and seemed to know full well that whoever prevails, the results will not materially change their plight.

The investigator working in the U.P. village, Arnavali, got an opportunity of making a detailed participant observation study as was the case in the above mentioned instance of the mechanics of the elections of the Block Pramukh of the R-Block, held on 2 March 1973. It generated considerable interest as it was a very prestigious election. Moreover, the honorary post of Block Pramukh could also be very remunerative through "sale" of patronage of various kinds. The 47 Gram Pradhans of the block, five nominated members from co-operatives, five nominated women members, two "progressive" farmers, one chairman of the town area falling within the block and the local members of Parliament and state legislature constituted the electorate for this election.

The contest was mainly between Nandan Singh, a Tyagi by caste and Sumer Singh, a Jat, though there were five more candidates (two Jats, one Brahmin, one Tyagi and one Harijan). Nandan Singh had been the Block Pramukh since the inception of this institution and was a reputable politician of long standing. His main opponent was a rich agriculturist who was the leader of the village Panchayats.

Right till election time, it was expected that Nandan Singh would retain his position. He managed to persuade Mangal Singh, a Jat candidate and the Gram Pradhan of Arnavali to withdraw in his favour. His main opposition came from Saran Tyagi, a fellow Tyagi, who was a secretary of the district Congress(R) party. Nandan Singh had defeated Tyagi in earlier election battles; first, when he stood as a candidate of the Communist Party of India, and later, as an independent candidate. Subsequently by joining the Congress(R), Tyagi

wanted to settle old scores with Nandan Singh by using his influence to divide the Tyagi votes.

Money was the main instrument for canvassing support and it was used openly and quite lavishly. Price tags for a vote ranged from Rs 700 to as much as Rs 2,000. One nominated woman voter, the wife of a Harijan village head, got Rs 1500 in return for her commitment to vote for Sumer Singh. Once a "deal is struck", the voter goes out of circulation and he/she is made to stay within the camp of the candidate who had paid for him/her. The voter is offered hospitality on a lavish scale which includes unlimited supply of liquor, often imported.

The very lavishness of the hospitality, however, boomeranged on Nandan Singh. Four of his "captive" supporters were so dead drunk when they were escorted to the polling booth by his supporters that they could not even put the stamp against his name and all the four votes were declared invalid. Nandan Singh lost to Sumer Singh by just four votes. Split in the Tyagi votes and invalidation of the votes of his four supporters led to his defeat and the Jats made history by electing Sumer Singh as the first Jat Block Pramukh of R Block. Sumer Singh celebrated this victory by throwing a *puri-subzi* party, attended by some 2,000 guests.

CHAPTER NINE

Quantitative Data on Social and Economic Profiles of Special Categories

Quantitative data have earlier been presented in Chapter 3 to provide a background to the quantitative data given in the subsequent five chapters. Quantitative data on social and economic profiles of certain specific categories of the study population are being presented in this chapter to give a more comprehensive picture of some of the issues that have been discussed in the previous five chapters.

Ideally, the identification of these categories ought to have emerged as a result of analysis of extensive tabulations and cross-tabulations of the data. However, due to various reasons, it has not been possible to have such a facility. The author had to get reconciled to only a limited degree of cross-tabulations. Fortunately, within these limitations it has been possible to obtain profiles of seven special categories apart from a category comprising the total population:

- i. Those who do not get full meals for three months or more in the year: the *Hungry*
- ii. Those who are Harijans: the *Harijans*
- iii. Those who belong to other backward castes: the *Backward Castes*
- iv. Those who are engaged in a regular service or in a trade: the *Service and Trade Group*
- v. Those with more than five acres of dry land or those with less than one acre of wet land with or without dry land: *More Than 5 Acres Dry Land or Less Than 1 Acre Wet Land*
- vi. Those with 1-3 acres of wet land, with or without extra dry land: *1-3 Acres Wet Land*
- vii. Those with more than three acres of wet land, with or without extra dry land: *More Than 3 Acres Wet Land*

From the above tabulation of the seven identifiable categories it became apparently logical to identify an eighth category of respondents who "do not own any wet land or who have less than five acres of dry land or have no land at all and who are not engaged in any regular service or trade", by deducting the respondents forming the categories iv, v, vi, vii above from the total population of the respondents. This would have left a section that is essentially very poor, consisting principally of agricultural or non-agricultural labourers, sharecroppers, artisans or the unemployed. It has been designated as the "Poor Labourers". However, a flaw in this simple arithmetical identification of a category of the poor is that (as shown in Table 33), many of those who have a service or a trade, also own land. Because of this, in addition to falling under the category iv above, some of them figure again in the categories v, vi and vii. These people then are counted twice while making deductions from the total, resulting not only in underestimating the absolute number of the "Poor Labourers", but to some extent affecting the social and economic profiles of this category. This has often created an absurd situation (as in Tables 33, 34, 42, 43, 44, 45, 50, 52, 54) where arithmetic calculations have actually led to negative numbers. For calculating column percentages, these negative figures have been ignored. Nevertheless, this (eighth) category has been retained because, despite these limitations, it provides significant insights into the quantitative data, particularly when the profile of this category is compared with that of the other seven categories and of the total population.

Furthermore, the seven categories cannot also be considered as pure. As has been pointed out above, many of those with service or trade also have lands of various sizes and qualities. So, categories iv, v, vi and vii are not "pure"; they are "contaminated". Similarly, a petty peddler who earns a rupee and a half a day, or one who is engaged in a service with a monthly wage of Rs 50, are included among others who may have monthly incomes running into four figures. Further, "dry" or "wet" land ownership do not depict the differences in productivity of land in different geographical regions. There is also the question of family size. All these are in addition to many possible sampling and non-sampling statistical errors that

might have crept into such a quantitative study.

As in the case of the group of the "Poor Labourers", despite these limitations, the data concerning the first seven groups are valuable, because of the insights they provide and because of their use in comparing the profiles of these different groups.

As has been pointed out in Chapter 3, while taking the sample from the villages, in some cases the sample size had to be increased beyond the postulated 20 per cent, while in some others, samples which are much smaller than 20 per cent had sufficed the purpose. The purpose was to get a representative sample of a reasonable size from each one of the nineteen villages. However, as drawing up of profiles of the eight special groups and the total study population needed summation of respondents belonging to each one of the nineteen study villages, to ensure same weightage to all villages, suitable corrections were made to bring percentages up or down exactly to 20 per cent. Because of these corrections, the frequencies have acquired decimal points.

In themselves, profiles of each of the eight groups against each of the 23 parameters provide significant insights into many aspects of village life. In addition, it is possible to obtain a more extensive, intensive and integrated account of the groups by linking such information on each group with the related parameters from the Tables 4 to 26 and the numerous case reports, observations and interview responses presented in Chapters 4-8, and later, in Chapter 10.

PROFILES OF THE GROUPS IN TERMS OF CASTES

Table 31 sums up many of the outstanding findings of the entire study.

While it is significant that with a percentage of 19.7 of the total, the Harijans accounted for 29.5 per cent of those who go hungry for three months or more and 33.5 per cent of the "Poor Labourers", a fact of much greater significance is that as many as 70.0 per cent of the "Hungry" and 66.5 per cent of the "Poor Labourers" are among those who are not Harijans—while constituting 12.5 per cent of the total population, the trading caste forms as much as 15.9 per cent of the "Hungry" and 10.2 per cent of "Poor Labourers"; the corresponding percentages

being 18.1, 15.0 and 20.0 for the backward castes, 30.6, 24.6 and 25.3 for other cultivator castes and 11.2, 11.8 and 10.3 for Muslims. Only the Brahmins, having corresponding percentages of 7.9, 3.2 and 0.7 are conspicuous in having a very favourable position.

The fact that the Harijans form as much as 5.4, 11.0 and 11.6 per cent respectively of those who own more than 3 acres of wet land, 1-3 acres of wet land and over 5 acres of dry land or less than an acre of wet land, acquires considerable significance when it is considered against the background of the findings that (a) 70.5 per cent of the people, who are not Harijans, have to be hungry for three months or more in a year and that (b) there is also pronounced social and economic stratification amongst the Harijans themselves. (See the repeated references to practice of untouchability and other acts of exploitation by Chamars against the Bhangis and the desperate economic conditions of Bhangis in Chapters 7, 8, and 9).

In this desperately poor country, the bulk of community resources are usurped by the small minority of affluent classes. Out of the very limited resources that are earmarked for the poor and the exploited sections, a substantial fraction is specifically earmarked for Harijans—the Scheduled Castes. Thus depriving the huge majority of the poor who do not happen to be among the Scheduled Castes. An even more disquieting aspect is that even among the Harijans, those who belong to the reasonably well-off sections—constituting 10.8 per cent, who are holders of wet land or those who already hold relatively lucrative government jobs from the quota reserved for Harijans—benefit more from the funds that are specially earmarked for the welfare of Harijans. How far have these welfare measures improved the conditions of the Harijans belonging to the lower half or even the lower three quarters of the Harijan population? Taking a more concrete example, how is it that in spite of the bounties of the Green Revolution, and the resources for “welfare” of Harijans and in spite of the struggle of Harijans against atrocities of the upper castes, that Bhangis have still (March 1981) been found to live under such intolerable conditions in the villages of Rohota and Arnavali in Meerut (see Chapter 10)? The

very Chamars of Rupal who were outraged at the refusal of a barber to cut the hair of a Chamar, practise with impunity a much more abhorrent form of untouchability against the Bhangis. The poor Bhangis in Rupal, Rohota as well as Arnavali appear to have been dehumanised, by the malignant forces of socialisation at work on them maybe for centuries, to such an extreme degree that they seem to have lost the ability to realise their right to claim a portion of the resources for Harijan welfare and that there is a law to protect them from the degrading practice of untouchability, be it by the upper castes or by Harijan Chamars.

In the 1980 revisit to village Rohota, the encouraging information was obtained to the effect that braving the openly biased and even hostile attitude of the Jat and Brahmin teachers of the village school, one Harijan student belonging to the village had obtained admission to the medical college at Meerut from the quota reserved for Harijans. In the most recent revisit (March 1981), it was found that the student had become a physician and again with the help of quota reserved for Harijans, he had received priority in being allotted a government job and posted to a government hospital in Allahabad. It was also found that meanwhile, yet another Harijan student had similarly obtained admission to a medical college, this time at Kanpur. In addition to reservation for admission, they have also received free tuition, special scholarship and financial assistance for buying books, instruments etc. It was, however, discovered during the March 1981 revisit that both these students belong to the same family and that the family is quite well-off. Taking advantage of job reservation policy, one brother is a police sub-inspector and the father of the medical student at Kanpur is a telephone operator in Meerut. Another brother is an Assistant Telephone Officer in Delhi. Besides, the family also has its own irrigated land. It is highly questionable that the investments that have gone into the making of the two Harijans physicians are in any way linked with improvement of the living conditions of the poorest of the poor Harijans, even if one leaves aside the case of the non-Harijan poor who form over two-thirds of the population of the poor.

Despite renewal of the reservation provision in the Constitu-

tion, decade after decade, a part from some strengthening of the privileged classes among Harijans and providing very marginal benefits to some segments, these efforts have had little impact on the hard core poor among them. Even if it is presumed that the ruling classes did sincerely believe that such reservations are good for the emancipation of Harijans, there appears to be some meaning in their naivete in nurturing such beliefs. The reservation laws enabled the ruling classes to put up a facade that "much is being done for the weaker sections, for the downtrodden, for the poorest of the poor." This championing of the cause of Harijan comes very handy to political parties in capturing the block votes of Harijans in elections. By helping in the co-option of a few "upper class" Harijans within the privileged classes, the reservation rules contribute to the perpetuation of the existing social system.

Data given in Table 31 show that the trading castes, Brahmins and Muslims have disproportionately high representation in the "Service and Trade Group". Again the Brahmins along with the "other cultivator castes" have proportionately high representation among the three landholding groups, namely those with 3 acres or more wet land or with 1-3 acres of wet land or with more than 5 acres dry or less than one acre wet land with or without some dry land. The Brahmins thus occupy a distinctly advantageous position amongst the six caste groups.

It is also worth noting that while the "other cultivator castes" constitute 30.6 per cent of the total, this group accounts for as much as 25.3 per cent of the "Poor Labourers".

Another point worthy of note is that as much as two-thirds of those belonging to "Poor Labourers" group are non-Harijans. The group of "Poor Labourers" is worse off than Harijans. There is nothing unexpected about it, because it forms a class, while the Harijans represent a caste. However, as in the case of the "Hungry" group, these data acquire considerable significance when it is recognised that as much as two-thirds of the problem of "Poor Labourers" lie outside the pale of the Harijan caste and that a significant number of the Harijans are better off than "Poor Labourers", as they fall under the three landholding groups or under "Service and Trade".

Once again, these data seriously call into question the basic foundations of the policy of job reservation and special financial programmes for the Harijans as a means to uplift the "weaker sections of the society". Money spent on the basis of this policy bypasses two-thirds of poor labourers and, worse still, even among Harijans, a substantial proportion of this money is cornered by those who belong to the upper one-fifth of the economic strata among Harijans, who do not belong to the "Poor Labourers" group and who do not have to go hungry because of poverty. Programmes such as "Food for Work," now called "Rural Employment Scheme", provide an obvious framework for a policy alternative. Such programmes not only ensure that its focus is on the poor, who also include four-fifths of the Harijans, but they also ensure that resources do not go to those Harijans who are not poor. Indeed, a programme for organising the poor to launch an active struggle to wrest a reasonable return for their labour was visualised as a component of such a policy in the revised *Draft Sixth Five Year Plan: 1978-83*.³ It converts what has turned out to be a "divide and rule" and "co-optive" strategy of the reservation policy into a strategy for mass struggle of the poor.

There is ample justification for inclusion of the "Poor Labourers" as an additional category among the profiles (Table 31). With the profiles of the "Hungry", those of the "Poor Labourers" represent segments of rural population which are not only much larger in absolute size than the Harijans but which are also much poorer (in terms of landholding, trade and service) and at the same time, includes the vast majority of the Harijans. Consideration of such profiles along with those of Harijans, the Backward Castes and the other four groups, provides both a depth as well as perspective to the data.

PROFILE OF THE CATEGORIES IN TERMS OF HUNGER SATISFACTION, LANDHOLDING AND OCCUPATION

The degree of hunger satisfaction among the different groups is given in Table 32. Those who cannot satisfy their hunger for

³Government of India, *Draft Sixth Five Year Plan (Revised)*, New Delhi, Planning Commission, 1979, p. 4.

3 to 6 months constitute 87.1 per cent, with those who cannot satisfy hunger for more than six months forming the remaining 13.0 per cent. The "Poor Labourers" group is distinctly worse off than Harijans in terms of every variable: 59.0 per cent of them suffering hunger for 3 months or more with the corresponding percentage of the Harijans at 49.3 per cent. Expectedly, those with wet lands have almost no hunger. However, in "More Than 5 Acres of Dry Land" and the "Service and Trade" categories as many as 30 per cent are not able to fully satisfy their hunger all the year round, with about 18 per cent suffering hunger for three months or more.

Table 33 on landholding presents three major findings. It shows that within the "More Than 5 Acres of Dry Land" category, along with those with more than five acres of dry land (forming 62.8 per cent), there are 37.2 per cent of those who own less than one acre of wet land, with or without some extra dry land. It also presents the distribution of land among the "Service and Trade" group, which is responsible for the anomalous situation having negative figures in the distribution among "Poor Labourers". Finally, when each group is compared with the total population, the Table also vividly depicts the dichotomy between the landless and the landed groups, with the "Backward Castes" conforming to the percentage of the total population only in terms of land distribution. This Table also shows distribution of wet land and over five acres of dry land among the Harijans.

Table 34 has data showing that in "Service and Trade" 57.9 per cent are engaged in service and 42.1 per cent in trade. Non-agricultural labourers and unemployed form substantial percentages among the "Harijans", the "Poor Labourers" and "the Hungry". As expected, landholders are concentrated heavily on agricultural occupation. The fact that many who are engaged in "Service and Trade" also have land in various measures once again points to the anomalous situation of negative figures in the distribution of "Poor Labourers".

PROFILE OF THE GROUPS IN TERMS OF CHILDBIRTHS AND CHILD-DEATHS

Table 35 shows the number of children born to a family and Table 36, the number of children that have died. As the data

have been based on past record of these events, some portions represent cohorts belonging to the earlier era, which was often distinguished by high birth and death rates. Even after making concessions on this account, these two Tables reflect a very large number of births as well as deaths: many belonging to various groups reflecting as many as nine or more births and eight or more deaths in a single family.

Within this overall setting, the groups which own wet land stand out prominently in having as low as 23.8 and 25.9 per cent of those who have *three children or less* at the time of the interviews. The group having "More Than 5 Acres of Dry Land" is seen in company with the "Hungry" and the Harijans with 31.0, 25.3 and 33.0 per cent, respectively. Those with the largest percentage—a family size of three children or less—are the "Service and Trade" group, the "Backward Castes", and the "Poor Labourers". Seen from the other extreme presented in Table 35, the three landowning categories come together in having an astonishing 45.6, 51.7 and 49.1 per cent respectively, with six or more children. The "Hungry" and the Harijans form another group with 40.7 and 41.2 per cent, respectively; the "Backward Castes" and the "Poor Labourers" have 36.4 and 36.3 per cent, respectively. That "Service and Trade" forms the lowest category with as many as 41.5 per cent having six children or more, provides an idea of family size of the study population.

A still more remarkable feature is the lowest child-death rates, reported by the very landowning groups which topped the list among those having six children or more. The "Service and Trade" group also has lower deaths. The most significant data concern the Harijans. As many as 18.1 per cent of them have reported losing more than four children and as many as 57.9 per cent have lost at least one child. These findings become even more significant when they are related to the fact that the Harijans had registered at least a lower number of births—coming fourth in the rank among those who have three children or less and again coming fourth from below among those having six children or more.

CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL

Table 37 shows a very sharp polarisation in terms of those who do *not* drink alcohol. On one side are the three landowning

categories and the "Service and Trade" group having almost four-fifths falling in this category. The Hungry, the Poor Labourers and the Harijans form the other group with only half mentioning that they do not drink. The Backward Castes come in between the two poles. Significantly, among the three groups, the Hungry and the Poor Labourers are well ahead of the Harijans in terms of those who reported that they drink daily.

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES AND VOTING PREFERENCES

The Poor Labourers and the Hungry stand out among the groups who have markedly poor knowledge about local Panchayat members (Table 38), the local Member of Legislative Assembly (Table 39) and the local Member of Parliament (Table 40). At the other extreme, the three landowning categories show consistently higher percentages in these spheres. For all the groups there is a declining gradient in the knowledge as one goes from the Panchayat members to the M.L.A. and then to the M.P.

While the Harijans and the Backward Castes remain in company with the seven categories in their knowledge about Panchayat members, they distinctly fall behind the remaining five in terms of knowledge about the M.L.A. There is a further shift in the form of "defection" of the "Service and Trade" group to the Harijans and the Backward Castes category, when it comes to assessing their knowledge concerning the local M.P.

A notable feature of all the three Tables is that the three landowning groups had been consistent in being ahead of the rest. Among themselves, the "More than Three Acres of Wet Land" group has been consistently ahead of the other two categories. The gradient in the decline in knowledge has also been more gradual: for the Poor Labourers, it has gone down from 72.5 per cent in Table 38 to 27.5 in Table 40; the corresponding decline for Harijans is from 86.4 to 46.1; and the decline is only from 98.2 to 79.8 for those with more than three acres of wet land.

During 1972-74 the voting behaviour of the different groups had remained undifferentiated at the Panchayat level (Table 41). However, differences became sharper in terms of voting for candidates for the state legislature and the Lok Sabha (Tables 42

and 43). Only the group "More Than 3 Acres of Wet Land" has a large percentage of those who voted for their "acquaintances" or "as told". Notwithstanding limitations of the data due obviously to more pronounced non-sampling errors, it is revealed that the Hungry, the Poor Labourers and the Backward Castes are the categories which voted for the CPI-M or CPI-M/CPI in larger numbers than the other groups. It is also noteworthy that the Harijans are definitely differentiated from those categories in voting for CPI-M (Table 42) or CPI-M/CPI (Table 43). The Backward Castes are more favourable to CPI-M or CPI than the Harijans. The three landowning categories and the "Service and Trade" group have quite clearly shied away from these parties.

USE OF MASS MEDIA, VISITS OUTSIDE VILLAGE AND PARTICIPATION IN CO-OPERATIVE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Data on these aspects are presented in Tables 44-50. These Tables provide a broad perspective of the different sections and their response to the world beyond. In this context each one of these seven Tables present a distinct polarisation between the poor and the rest. The Hungry and the Poor Labourers constitute the poor. The Harijans are also included in this category, but as some (about a fifth) are not poor, the Harijans become a little differentiated from the other two groups.

In terms of newspaper readership (Table 44), the Harijans are firmly with the Hungry and the Poor Labourers in having virtually nobody who reads a newspaper. At the other extreme, interestingly, the "Service and Trade" group is joined by those with "1-3 Acres of Wet Land" to head the list in this sphere.

In terms of radio-listening (Table 45), the hiatus between the Harijans and the other two categories of the poor opens up a little bit. On the other side, those with "More Than 3 Acres of Wet Land" join those with "1-3 Acres of Wet Land" and "Service and Trade" at the top of the Table. The shift from the 25.6 per cent of written word (Table 44) to 43.7 per cent of spoken and (Table 45) in the case of "More Than 3 Acres of Wet Land" category is worthy of note.

While the poor remain very much at the bottom in terms of participation in co-operatives (Table 46), the three landowning

categories are conspicuous in their relatively high degree of participation, with the Backward Castes and the "Service and Trade" categories occupying middle positions.

The pattern is virtually the same in terms of their knowledge about the Community Development Organisation (Table 47). It may be recalled that reference here is only to knowledge about the *organisation* and *not* to the philosophy of community participation which forms the central theme. Indeed, the distribution of those who have some knowledge of the organisation in Table 47 indicates that this knowledge is linked with the landowning class.

The difference between the Hungry and the Poor Labourers on the one hand and Harijans on the other comes out more sharply in terms of city visits (Table 48). While 42 per cent of the former had never visited a city, the corresponding percentage is 2.36 for Harijans. The Backward Castes and the group with "More Than 5 Acres of Dry Land" are also with the Harijans, with the "Service and Trade" group not far behind. The two groups with wet landholdings are distinctive in their having very low percentages of those who have never visited the city.

The same trend is broadly maintained in Table 49, showing visits to a market. The two categories of the poor remain quite different from the Harijans, while in the case of market visits the "More Than 5 Acres of Dry Land" section has the highest percentage daily visitors to market, with the four other categories having a fourth to a fifth of their group falling in this category.

In terms of visits to other villages (Table 50), not only do the Harijans continue to be well ahead of the other two categories of the poor, but surprisingly, even "Service and Trade" group, the category with "1-3 Acres of Wet Land" and Backward Castes seem to trail behind them.

Data from all three Tables (Tables 48, 49 and 50) on visits outside indicate consistently that the Harijans move about more than the others among the poor and compare well with many of the "non-poor" groups.

HOUSING, AVAILABILITY OF A LATRINE, ELECTRICITY AND RADIO

As is evident from Table 51, the polarisation between the groups is much less in terms of the nature of housing. As the data

presented in this Table do not take into account the complex considerations regarding floor area, compound, kitchen-garden or orchards and as the nature of construction of houses is rooted in the local culture and local geographical conditions (Table 4), these findings are not unexpected.

Even against the obviously very poor level of availability of latrines in the study villages, it is significant that the "Service and Trade" group is well ahead of the rest (Table 52) with the "More Than 3 Acres of Waste Land" category following it. Virtually none of the poor has a latrine. The situation is at most slightly better in the case of the remaining three sections.

The polarisation within the categories becomes more prominent in terms of availability of electricity (Table 53). The two "Wet Landholding" groups and the "Service and Trade" groups are well ahead of the others. For a change, while the Harijans and the Poor Labourers have virtually no electricity connections, relative to them, the position of the Hungry is better. The distribution of the groups is similar in terms of radio-ownership (Table 54), with even greater similarities among the three categories of the poor.

CHAPTER TEN

Social Change in the Villages During 1972-81*

ORGANISATION OF THE DATA

Even from the first round study of the villages, the data obtained from bibliographical material, depth interviews, case reports and from some of the questions included in the schedule, provided a perspective of some social, economic and political changes that have taken place in the study population. With these data it has also been possible to define the major components which form and maintain different social, economic and political equilibria in the village communities. References have been made in the preceding chapters to the fact that some of the equilibria are rather delicately balanced and might get disturbed if there are even moderate shifts in some of the forces which maintain the balance. The several rounds of revisits provided opportunities to check these forecasts.

As pointed out in Chapter 2 the very unstable character of some of the equilibria studied during the first round and some very far-reaching social and political events which had taken place subsequently, had prompted the author to make rounds of study of the villages from 1976 onwards. The last round, covering all the nineteen of them, took place in the middle of 1980. To get data on the latest position, the six villages in south India were visited later in 1980, the four West Bengal villages in February 1981, and the nine villages of Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Haryana still later, in March 1981.

*Changes in health culture are discussed separately in the companion volume.

AN OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGES IN THE STUDY VILLAGES

Even from the data presented in the preceding chapters, it is apparent that village life has been undergoing many changes. Also, when these various changes are analysed in terms of the social structure, it becomes clear that most changes are confined to the upper classes. The lower classes, which form the bulk of the population, have not been greatly affected and their pace of social and economic change has been very slow. They continue to have high rates of illiteracy and are poorly informed; they are steeped in various kinds of superstitions and have many beliefs and practices that are patently obscurantist and most of them can also be called fatalistic. It would, however, be simplistic, and even culturally arrogant, to label the culture of these lower classes as a "culture of poverty."¹

It is contended that the prevailing high levels of illiteracy, ignorance, superstition, obscurantism and fatalism are certainly not passive phenomena: they are not the consequences of any peculiarities of the "culture" of these poverty-stricken people. Indeed, in the course of this study many types of positive forces, directed towards bringing about social change, have been identified within the lower classes. It was also observed that these forces were actively countered by those unleashed by the upper classes which (along with the political leadership at higher levels and the bureaucracy), have vested social, economic and political interests in perpetuating stagnation within the lower classes. These two contradictory forces have generated considerable tensions within the village populations. The friction generated by the obstructive efforts of the upper classes imparts a special character to the social change among them. Though the pace is slow, as it is associated with considerable social tension, social change becomes an issue of struggle between the two classes.

¹C.A. Valentine, *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1972; Oscar Lewis, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty*, San Juan and New York, Random House, 1966; N. Glozer and D.P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, Cambridge, M.I.T. Press and Harvard University Press, 1963.

Data obtained from the revisits have revealed that: (a) in course of time both the opposing forces have become stronger and with this strengthening there has been corresponding intensification of social tensions within the village populations; and, (b) with the relatively greater intensification of the forces for social change within the lower classes, there has been a shift in the state of equilibrium of the two opposing forces in favour of classes and this has led to a quickening in the pace of social change among them.

The limited data collected from the rounds of revisits are obviously not adequate to define more precisely the range and the quantum of social tensions and social change or the dimensions, the range and the quantum of the opposing forces which generate these tensions and changes. At best, these data can identify, in very general terms, some of the major causes and effects of social changes that have taken place in the course of six to eight years of the study. Five categories of changes have been identified on the basis of observations and analysis. They are summarised below:

As a result of the premises made to the oppressed people and some social action (however casual, patchy and half-hearted), right from the days of freedom struggle, there has been a sustained increase in social and political awareness among these people. As will be apparent from the data presented later in this chapter, because of cumulation of this awareness and its rapid rate of generation in the recent years, it has become increasingly difficult for the upper classes to contain the forces of change among the lower classes. This has had major repercussions on the entire economic and political system of the country and quickened the pace of social change.

Implications of an annual population growth of around two per cent through the past three decades or more have been highly complicated and varied and of considerable significance for understanding such a change. There has neither been a loud bang of "population explosion", nor has there been any indication that there is a burning fuse of a "population time-bomb". Expectedly, the rounds of revisits have revealed that the sustained, insidious growth of population over the six to eight years has evoked different responses from different segments of the

study population on the one hand, and from the political and bureaucratic circles at higher levels and educated urban privileged classes on the other.

Provisional population totals for the 1981 Census² which became available when this report was being prepared, gives an indication of the growth of population during 1971-81, along with the rates for 1961-71 for each of the eight states and for the entire country:

Decennial Growth Rate (D.G.R.) of Population

| | <i>Population 1981</i> | <i>D.G.R. 1961-71</i> | <i>D.G.R. 1971-81</i> |
|---------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| India | 683,810,051 | + 24.80 | + 24.75 |
| <i>States</i> | | | |
| Gujarat | 33,960,905 | + 29.39 | + 27.21 |
| Haryana | 12,860,902 | + 32.33 | + 28.04 |
| Karnataka | 37,043,451 | + 24.22 | + 26.43 |
| Kerala | 25,403,217 | + 26.29 | + 19.00 |
| Rajasthan | 34,102,912 | + 27.83 | + 32.36 |
| Tamil Nadu | 48,297,456 | + 22.30 | + 17.23 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 110,858,019 | + 19.78 | + 25.49 |
| West Bengal | 54,495,560 | + 26.87 | + 22.96 |

As most of those who belong to the lower classes live a marginal existence, the prospect of having "more mouths" to feed do not appear to be particularly alarming to this class. After prolonged breast-feeding, the "mouths", if at all they manage to survive, need only a few years of feeding, after which they become positive "assets" to the family—as baby-sitters, as fuel-gatherers and as low-paid child labourers in petty shops, establishments or households. Further, for this class with relatively larger mortality and morbidity rates, with much poorer access to medical institutions, having more "mouths" serves as an insurance for the parents in old age. As far as appeal to patriotism is concerned, the slogan "country in danger" does not move them much, apparently

²Census of India, *Provisional Population Totals, Series 1-India, Paper 1 of 1981*, New Delhi, Registrar-General and Census Commissioner of India, 1981.

because the country which they are called upon to save has given them a very raw deal. Indeed, they ought to have a vested interest in increase of rate of population growth in the country, because the sheer compulsions of such an increase of population growth may force the privileged class to fulfil the promises they had made about improving the living standards of the poor and the downtrodden. They will do so not as an end in itself, but as an essential prerequisite for promoting a small family norm among the poor!

Ironically, it is the enticement of the so-called incentive money which provides the most potent stimulus for generating motivation among the people of this class to accept sterilisation. This "motivation" is particularly strong during the lean agricultural periods when many of these people have to starve. Among the poor, those with four, five or more children, those whose last child is already quite grown-up, those whose wives have already attained menopause, those who are widowers and those who have never married, are particularly attracted to the incentive for undergoing sterilisation.³

The attitude of the upper classes in the villages towards population growth can at best be termed as ambivalent. They are vaguely aware of the fear of the lower classes swarming the entire village. They are also vague about the threat this population growth poses to the country as a whole. Indeed, more than these "fears", many Hindus are afraid of the more rapid rate of population growth among Muslims and Christians, a major political and economic threat to Hindus. As far as the "extra-mouths" in their own homes are concerned, these do not pose much of a problem or a threat. The extra hands can be absorbed in agriculture. With the newly acquired political power this group can also grab employment opportunities in trade, in industry and in government and other public offices and agencies. This attitude of the upper classes in villages is also reflected in the Table on profiles of different groups in terms of the number of children born (Table 35). It is the section of the population which has by far the greatest stake in the perpetuation

of the existing social order namely, educated urban privileged class, which is most exercised over what appears to them to be disastrous consequences of rapid population growth. They have been the most ardent proponents of the birth control movement in India.⁴ Demerath⁵ has given a vivid account of them. Many donors of foreign aid and some international agencies have also exerted strong pressure on the class to do something urgent and drastic about this "problem". Short of bringing about the structured changes that are required to improve social, economic and political status of the masses of the people of the country, they have thrown in almost every weapon in their armoury to "persuade" people, particularly the masses of the rural poor, to accept birth control methods. This movement took the form of a naked class war during the period of the Emergency, when, in sheer desperation, the urban privileged classes took to using police force and other forms of coercion to forcibly sterilise over eight million people, a vast majority of them belonging to the lower classes.⁶

Whatever the perception, attitude and behaviour of different segments of people towards population growth, and the programmes to curb this growth, data collected during the revisits to the study villages have revealed that the growth of population has had profound influence on their human ecology. The sheer increase in the size of the population has exerted enormous strain on community resources. A major consequence of the ecological implications of the growing population is that the upper classes, who control political and economic power, have been compelled to take certain remedial measures against the threat of increasing impoverishment among people belonging to the lower classes. They have realised that

⁴L. Bondestam and S. Bergstrom (eds.), *Poverty and Population Control*, London, Academic Press, 1981; D. Banerji, "Family Planning in India—Some Inhibiting Factors," in Ashish Bose et al. (eds.), *Population in India's Development 1947-2000*, Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1974.

⁵N.J. Demerath, *Birth Control and Foreign Policy: The Alternatives to Family Planning*, New York, Harper and Row, 1976.

⁶D. Banerji, "Family Planning in India—Some Inhibiting Factors," in Ashish Bose et al. (eds.), *Population in India's Development 1947-2000*, Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1974.

³National Institute of Family Planning, *Vasectomy. Camps: A Study*, NIFP Report Series, No. 13, New Delhi, NIFP, 1973.

these steps have to be taken in their own "enlightened self-interest", to quote an expression of foreign aid given to "under-developed" countries. They have been forced to concede, at long last, that the "routine" rural developmental efforts that have been made during the past three decades have mostly benefited the better-off sections of rural population. Therefore, ostensibly to improve the lot of the weaker sections they have launched certain programmes that are specifically directed towards them.⁷

Taken as a whole, almost in every village there has been evidence of change. Signs of significant development of agriculture have dominated the scene. These changes in agriculture chiefly concern the rich landholders. There has been an increase in the number of tractors, irrigation pumps, threshers and cane-crushers used as also in the use of high-yielding varieties of seeds, chemical fertilisers and pesticides. There has been an increase in the income of the surplus farmers through higher market prices for their produce and through better transport and marketing facilities.

Larger numbers of people are reading newspapers. There are many more radio sets. In the village Arnavali the number of television sets has increased from one to three; now the village Rohota has also acquired four sets; five families in Kachhona have acquired television sets to come within the range of Lucknow-Kanpur telecast. There are now more telephone connections, frequent postal and bus services. Additional roads have been constructed.

There has been an expansion of savings, credit and service facilities through commercial banks, post-offices and co-operatives. Three more villages (Rupal, Pazhambalakode and Yelwal) now have a piped water supply system. Three more of them now have street lightings (Pazhambalakode, Gambhoi and Rohat.) Two more villages (Gambhoi, Rampura) have been given a supply of electricity. There has been a significant increase in the number of houses which have availed of this facility.

The changes that are specific to individual villages will be described later in this chapter. Special rural development

⁷Government of India, *Draft Sixth Five Year Plan (Revised)*, New Delhi, Planning Commission, 1979, p. 4.

programmes, such as certain aspects of the 20-point programme and the 5-point programme of 1975-76, the Antyodaya Scheme, the Food for Work Programme and the special Adult Education Programme will also be taken up separately in this chapter.

Many significant, even profound, political changes have also taken place in the study villages during this period. Increasing social tensions and awareness of the lower classes of rural population, pressure from increase in the size of the population and conflicts and contradictions within the upper classes are the major factors which have generated these political changes. During Emergency a massive programme of forcible sterilisation was launched in the country. In the 1977 elections to the Lok Sabha, the opposition parties were swept into power at the Centre and they followed it up to order fresh elections to some state legislatures. These elections led to the dismissal of the Congress governments of five of the eight states introduced in this study (i.e. Gujarat, Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal). These five states included thirteen of the nineteen selected villages. Again, in the 1980 Lok Sabha elections the Congress (I) (this time as Indira Congress) came back to power and following the example of the Janata Party, it captured four of the five states (i.e. Gujarat, Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh) it had lost in the 1977 elections. Following the split in the ruling party in Karnataka, the "Indira" faction of Congress(I) defeated the Urs faction of Congress(I) and it managed to retain its control over that state after the 1980 elections of the state legislature.

However, an equally significant political event was that in the 1980 Lok Sabha elections, the ruling United Left Front in West Bengal in fact strengthened its position and no mid-term poll was ordered for the West Bengal state legislature. There was also a major swing in the opposite direction in Kerala, both in the Lok Sabha elections as well as in the elections to the state legislature in 1980. In Tamil Nadu, interestingly, while the Congress(I) and DMK alliance has a massive win in the Lok Sabha election of 1980, the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) came back to retain power in the state legislature. Elections to the Tamil Nadu state

legislature were ordered following premature dissolution of the earlier AIADMK government and imposition of President's Rule in the state by the newly installed government at the Centre. Of even greater significance for this study were the elections to the village Panchayats. Thirteen of the nineteen villages belonging to five states (i.e. Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Rajasthan and West Bengal), held Panchayat elections during this period, with the elections to the villages of Kerala (Coyalmanam and Pazhambalakode), Karnataka (Jadigenhalli, Yelwal and Kalur), Rajasthan (Rohat and Rampura) and West Bengal (Haringhata, Dakshin Duttapara, Amdanga and Kamdevpur), being held after the lapse of a period ranging from 10 to 15 years. There were two indirect elections involving the village Arnavali (Meerut), one for the Panchayat Samiti of the corresponding block and the other for the Gram Pradhan of the village Panchayat. As opposed to this, the AIADMK-ruled Tamil Nadu state government dissolved all the village Panchayats and Panchayat unions of the state and appointed bureaucrats as administrators to run these institutions. The Gram Panchayat of Kachhona (of U.P.) was also dissolved by the U.P. state government but this was done to establish a semi-urban Notified Area Committee for the village. Pending elections to the Notified Area Committee in Kachhona, it is being administered by a bureaucrat.

The mere fact that even the poorest in a village were given opportunities to exercise their franchise on as many as five occasions within a span of three years is of considerable political significance. It needed increasing concessions and greater efforts to make them vote for a particular party or a candidate. The political significance of these elections is enhanced further still when these elections are seen against the various forces which precipitated them.

THE 20-POINT AND 5-POINT PROGRAMMES

Even though steep rise in prices, acute scarcity of essential commodities and the crop failure in 1974-75 had caused considerable hardships to the villagers, according to their perceptions these conditions had very little to do with the imposition of Emergency on 25 June 1975. Again, as far as the study villages

are concerned, only in Kachhona (Hardoi) two activists belonging to the Jana Sangh/Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) were arrested under the notorious Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA). The Emergency was seen by the villagers mainly as a ruthless implementation, on a massive scale, of only one point of the 5-point programme of Sanjay Gandhi. This single "point", namely family planning, had obscured all others of the 20 and 5-point programmes which were related to rural populations.

As is evident from a description of implementation of family planning programme during the first visit to the villages in 1972-74⁸ use of coercion had already become a common feature in its implementation. However, with the Emergency powers providing administrators a virtual immunity against any legal action and with the immense pressure generated from the top political leadership for getting more and more sterilisation "cases", the family planning programme developed three highly pernicious characteristics during this period:

- i. The coercive forces were applied more ruthlessly and recklessly, often without most elementary humanitarian constraints;
- ii. Such coercion was carried out on a very extensive scale; and
- iii. Such blatant violation of basic human rights and human dignity, affecting the most intimate aspects of the lives of individual citizens, was perpetuated openly by government employees, particularly those who could strike terror in the people.

Again, for procuring cases for sterilisation, three types of agencies were employed. Even before the imposition of the Emergency, under the target-oriented programme,⁹ functionaries of the family planning programme were allotted specific family planning targets which they had to achieve. Failure to achieve

⁸D. Banerji, "Impact of Rural Health Services on the Health Behaviour of Rural Populations in India: A Preliminary Communication," *EPW*, vol. 8, 22 December 1973, pp. 2261-68.

⁹D. Banerji, *Family Planning in India: A Critique and A Perspective*, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1971.

the prescribed targets meant punishment, which varied from a mere unfavourable entry in the service records, to transfer, withholding of salaries and increments, denial of due promotion and outright dismissal from service. Under the Emergency not only did punishment become more rigorous, but the range of the employees required to obtain a prescribed target was expanded several fold to include all health workers and every single employee working with the government or with any government-aided agency—Panchayat and block development officials, police and revenue staff, public works employees, employees of the animal husbandry department, school teachers and other school employees, and so on. Each one of these employees was required to get their quota or face drastic action.

A "quota" of sterilisation was demanded from villagers when they (i.e. villagers) visited any government agency for any type of work. While visiting the village Rohat in October 97, even with a very preliminary enquiry, the investigator could draw up, as an example, the following list of services for which sterilisation "cases" were demanded:

- Licence for firearms, for shops, for setting up a cane-crusher and for plying buses and trucks,
- Demarcation of agricultural land getting favourable decision on land ceiling cases,
- For getting various kinds of government lands—for buying cattle, a tractor, a tube-well, etc.
- Various kinds of electricity connections—domestic, commercial or agricultural,
- Permits for cement, fertiliser or seeds,
- Acquiring a ration card,
- Water from irrigation canals,
- Exemption from payment of school fees, land revenue payment,
- Registration for becoming a Registered Medical Practitioner, for getting a favourable decision from courts,
- Bail in criminal cases,
- For getting appointed to various kinds of jobs,

Transfers to posting of one's choice,
For giving "food powers" to sanitary inspectors in PHCs.

Pre-dawn raids were organised with the help of armed policemen on previously demarcated areas of village to round up almost every adult male member and herding them together in open trucks to be taken to sterilisation centres. At these centres surgeons were ordered to perform the sterilisation operations. These surgeons were also ordered not to make any fuss about eligibility of the victim, operating conditions or about their being tired or the quality of post-operative care. To escape sterilisation, terror-stricken villagers had learnt to run away to the fields at the very sight of any approaching vehicle; many of them lived there to escape capture by the "raiders". A villager from Rohat sustained serious injuries when he jumped from a running truck on which he was being taken to a sterilisation centre. While in most cases the villagers showed no resistance once they were rounded up with the help of armed police, investigators did come across two instances of armed resistance to small raiding groups. It so happened that each of the three areas where large-scale police firing was resorted to were not far from some of the study villages—Muzaffarnagar from Rohota and Arnavali, Sultanpur from Kachhona and Sunni and Pipli from Bilaspur.

Data show that during the Emergency, coercive methods were used blatantly and on an extensive scale in all the eight states covered by the study villages. However, they also revealed that only in the seven villages (Bilaspur, Rohat, Rampura, Rohota, Arnavali, Kachhona and Sunni) which belong to the states of Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, the resistance of the people to sterilisation was so strong that coercion was applied very intensively and for this all the three types of agencies mentioned above were extensively mobilised. In the villages of the other five states, namely Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal, there were no raids by armed policemen. Government agencies hardly demanded a quota of sterilization when people visited them. Factors for the coercion employed on such a large-scale and so ruthlessly in the three Hindi-speaking states could be:

- i. In all the three states the then Chief Ministers were particularly keen for approbation from the Union Government by showing "magnificent work" in the field of family planning;
- ii. The police organisation and other instruments of coercion and oppression were particularly brutal and ruthless in their operation in these three states; and,
- iii. Resistance to family planning among the poverty-stricken populations was particularly strong in these states and this needed very strong-arm tactics.

Relatively, the degree of coercion was least in the Gujarat villages, Rupal and Gambhoi. Family planning and health workers were subjected to various kinds of administrative pressure and coercion for fulfilling the quota assigned to them. Gujarat had this distinction presumably because the Union Government had only recently dismissed a popular government there and imposed President's Rule. The rulers had to be careful not to provoke undue wrath of the people. Not surprisingly in terms of family planning "achievements" during the Emergency, Gujarat occupied a very low position in the country.¹⁰

In the southern states of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, along with health and family planning workers, pressure was also exerted on other categories of workers causing more widespread dissatisfaction. As was the case in the villages of Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, some of the village level government officials used their official positions to extract "cases" from those who came to get their work done. During the field work many instances came to the notice of investigators where, in sheer desperation, some government officials had to seek the help of "commission agents" to get "cases" in exchange for as much as 50-150 per cent of their monthly salaries. Even as late as in February 1980, when the author visited Yelwal (in Karnataka), the Medical Officer of the Primary Health Centre informed that till that date there were five villages under his jurisdiction which had remained out of bounds to workers of the PHC because of the alleged atrocities

¹⁰D. Banerji, "Community Response to the Intensified Family Planning Programme," *EPW*, vol. 12, No. 6, 7 and 8, Annual No. 1977, pp. 261-66.

committed there during the family planning campaign of 1976. Several cases of falsification of records and reports concerning family planning work have also been observed.

In the four West Bengal villages, falsification of family planning records, large-scale use of corrupt practices (e.g. division of incentive money between surgeons, motivators and "patients"), use of a variety of false cases (e.g. repeat operations, "pretended" operations, operation of both the spouses) and large-scale use of commission agents or "promoters", locally called *Dalals*, are some of the factors which enabled this state to put up a "magnificent" performance. Family planning organisers in West Bengal had been able to achieve "great success" without taking recourse to the brutal methods as used in Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.¹¹

Such large-scale use of coercion, blatant corrupt practices and cynical disregard of rights and dignity of individual citizens has had far-reaching impact on the credibility of the political leadership and bureaucrats, specially the police and other agencies of oppression and terror, in all the nineteen study villages. Understandably, the trauma was felt more by people of the seven villages of Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The weaker sections of the population here were the first victims of coercion. However, with the very rapidly increasing demand from the government for "cases", very soon pressure was exerted on those belonging to the upper classes to get "cases" either by getting sterilised themselves, or using their influence with the proper sections to get substitute cases. This caused considerable alienation even of the upper classes from the government. A very significant finding in the seven villages (of Haryana, Rajasthan and U.P.) was that the pressure on all types of village level functionaries to do such obviously unpalatable work was so intense that they developed a strong animosity towards the government and became somewhat politicised in the process.

Such an overwhelming preoccupation of the entire government machinery with the family planning drive has had a most adverse effect on the health services. Not only were health workers not able to pay adequate attention to their work, but much

¹¹D. Banerji, "Community Response to the Intensified Family Planning Programme," *EPW*, vol. 12, No. 6, 7 and 8, Annual No. 1977, pp. 261-66.

worse still, the villagers developed an acute fear of the government doctor and his entire team. They feared that they (i.e. the villagers) would be caught at once and forcibly sterilised if they ventured anywhere near the PHC or PHC staff. This is reflected in a very sharp decline in the attendance at PHCs and a correspondingly large increase in the clientele of various types of private practitioners during the Emergency period.

Another dangerous fallout of Emergency operations was not simply a total breakdown of the law enforcing machinery, but that the very guardians of law and order turned into petty tyrants. There have been several reports from all the seven villages of the three states of local policemen walking into houses, catching hold of individuals and putting them in a lock-up. They could obtain release only by meeting the demands of their "captors".

Careful enquiries in the study villages revealed that, apart from implementation of family planning programme, no serious efforts were made either by the government or any other social or political organisation to implement the other three points of the 5-point programme, relevant to rural areas namely, campaign to plant trees and to promote cleanliness.

Three of the 20-points were of direct relevance to villages, namely, writing off or putting a moratorium on rural debts of certain amounts, liberation of bonded labour and providing house sites to Harijans.

Impact of legislative actions on debt relief was felt in the villages. These laws encouraged the lower classes not only to disown the loans taken by them, but emboldened them to become more assertive about their rights and privileges. However, in many instances people belonging to the weaker sections had to surrender their new found freedom when they were unable to obtain fresh loans from any other quarters to tide over the difficult times in the lean seasons.

Similar problems also arose for the very few who could use the law to secure release as a bonded labourer. After getting their liberation, they found that they had nowhere to turn to. As landless labourers, their fate was much worse than what it had been when they were working under bondage. Presumably because of the experience and because of patently lukewarm

attitude of political and bureaucratic bodies, this campaign did not make any headway thus ending up as a hollow exercise in public relations.

The programme of allotment of house sites to Harijans was in operation before the imposition of Emergency and its inclusion in the 20-points during Emergency did not bring about any significant improvement in implementation which remained patchy and half-hearted.

POLICY CHANGES AND NEW PROGRAMMES AFTER 1977

Following the change in the Union Government in 1977, announcement of the policy changes of the new government generated a spontaneous feeling of liberation among all sections of people in the study villages. (The state of Emergency had already been revoked before the elections.) These policy changes included, among others, total abandonment of all forms of coercion in the implementation of family planning programme; repeal of the hated Maintenance of Internal Security Act and restoration of fundamental rights and access to law courts for seeking redressal of grievances. The tensions of government functionaries were relieved. People were no longer scared of terrorisation and extortion by petty officials of the law-enforcing machinery. There was no longer the feeling of utter helplessness in being not able to turn anywhere for protection against such actions. And, people could once again go to government institutions of various kinds without having any fear of being forcibly taken away to sterilisation camps.

Many of these fears were manifestly exaggerated during the Emergency. The atmosphere of fear and terror, blocking of means of normal channels of mass communication and loss of credibility of the media contributed to generate psychological conditions which actively encouraged such exaggerated perceptions. The sweeping policy changes of 1977 generated the feeling of liberation among the people by sweeping away this atmosphere.

Expectedly, this feeling of liberation was strongest in the seven villages falling within the states of Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, where the people suffered most from the

Emergency atrocities and excesses. In the following year (1977-78) the number of sterilisations fell precipitate. It was 67.7 per cent less than the 1976-77 figures in Haryana and the corresponding figures were 80.8 for Rajasthan and 75.0 for Uttar Pradesh.¹² These figures include both male and female sterilisations. As there was in fact an increase in female sterilisations in 1977-78, if only male sterilisations are considered, the fall in 1977-78 has been well above 90 per cent in these three states.

In the six villages belonging to the southern states of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu the turmoil generated by the Emergency was not strong enough to bring about any political change. However, the fact that in 1977-78 the number of sterilisations in three states fell by as much as 60.5, 55.9 and 67.0 per cent respectively¹³ is consistent with the data obtained from these six villages during the Emergency period.

Both these sets of data (i.e. sterilisation setback and village data) question the validity of the assumption that coercive methods were not employed in the southern states. The argument that the fall in the number of male sterilisations took place because of strident anti-family planning outpourings of the then Union Minister of Health and Family Welfare, is not very convincing. (Family Planning was rechristened Family Welfare by the new government to underline its abhorrence of the old approach). In terms of response of the people to the Emergency, the two villages of Gujarat can also be included in this category of the six south Indian villages. In the 1977 Lok Sabha elections, these two villages sent a member who belonged to the opposition alliance (Janata Party) which included old Congress Party (Congress-O), which had won the seat earlier in a by-election.

In the four West Bengal villages, the sense of relief was of a qualitatively different kind. Unlike the seven villages of Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, it emerged not so much as a reaction to something which had been swept away but rather to

¹²Government of India, *Monthly Bulletin on Family Welfare Statistics*, March, New Delhi, Department of Family Welfare, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 1978.

¹³Ibid.

the re-emergence of something which had been sought to be actively and systematically exterminated. Ashok Mitra's book, *The Hoodlum Years* gives a vivid account of some aspects of the activities of those who carried on their corruption under protection of state and Union governments.

Withdrawal of the Emergency regulations preceding the 1977 Lok Sabha elections and the sweeping policy changes of the new Union Government following the elections, provided an opportunity for political workers of CPI-M in these four villages to work for their cause openly.

Visits to these four villages in January and again in June 1977 revealed that not only had the party succeeded in keeping its organisation intact, but the retreat of those forces, which had earlier attempted to exterminate its members, also inspired activists to work enthusiastically for election of their candidates to the Lok Sabha, and later, to the State Legislative Assembly. Emergence of a more sympathetic political leadership at the national and state levels considerably facilitated the work of party workers among the village populations. By organising those segments of the people so far dominated by a small group of people belonging to privileged upper classes, these workers brought about a fundamental change in the power structures within the village. The voice of the poor and oppressed sections of the village populations is now heard in the administration of social and economic development programmes of their villages bringing about what can be called democratisation in functioning and distribution of goods and services of village communities.

Through revisits it was possible to collect data from all these four villages on the entire range of changes in the "psychological atmosphere" of these villages. Where there was an all-pervading atmosphere of despondency and resignation there was now a palpable atmosphere of hope, expectation and confidence among these very people. This change was reflected in the pride they had of their power to deal with problems primarily concerning them. As a consequence of democratisation within the village communities, people from the lower classes were able to get a personal experience of their involvement in decisions and actions concerning some of the resources

FIP "

which belonged to them. For example, four sarees were sent to Haringhata (Nadia) as flood relief in 1978 and the entire people held a meeting to identify those who were most deserving in the village.

The psychological metamorphosis in the four West Bengal villages was perhaps the most significant aspect of the change as consequence of the political and policy changes at Central and state levels after Emergency. In turn this psychological change had been mobilised by the local village leadership to provide the motive force for bringing about a number of social and economic changes. These changes distinguish the four West Bengal villages from the rest. The following instances illustrate the distinguishing features of these changes in the West Bengal villages.

'Operation Barga' involved a massive drive to register all tenant farmers in West Bengal to enable them to take advantage of various legal safeguards and rights available to them under the already existing land legislations in the state. The outstanding feature of this operation is the high degree of mobilisation and enthusiasm of tenant farmers built up in the process of their participation. This operation provides an instance where an effort to mobilise the land revenue administration of a state government is matched by an effort to mobilise the tenants to take advantage of facilities made available to them by the new state government.

The four villages were also badly affected by the unprecedented floods in West Bengal in 1978. The remarkable positive response of the political leadership at the state level and of the local community at the village level considerably reduced the sufferings of the people. While the former made assistance available to these villages in the form of food, blankets, tents, medical teams, volunteers, etc., village leadership worked tirelessly, day and night, to evacuate the affected people and ensure that the relief material reached the needy. Later, when the floods receded, they were equally active in helping the villagers, providing assistance in terms of material and labour to those who had lost their homes and those who had suffered damages to their fields, etc.

Floods had also severely affected the two Rajasthan villages, Rohat and Rampura, in 1979. In sharp contrast to West Bengal, in these villages the response was mainly in the form of bureaucratic actions with characteristic ponderousness, corruption and lack of imagination. The lower classes, living in the low-lying areas of the villages, bore the brunt of the onslaught. Political leadership at the state level responded by providing flood relief to the affected people. However, in the absence of community participation on the scale observed in the four West Bengal villages and in the absence of the degree of rapport the state political leadership had with the affected people, the relief that did manage to reach the affected people came very late and in very inadequate quantity. Those affected had learnt to live with bungling at political and administrative levels and faced their problems as well as they could on their own.

Again, in sharp contrast to other villages, implementation of the Food for Work programme in the four West Bengal villages had shown not only how the community had actively participated but also how it had been actively involved in the actual planning of the programme. The village Panchayat invited the entire community to identify the public works that should be taken up under the programme. It was noted in Haringhata (Nadia) for instance, that the earlier Panchayats and other government agencies for rural development had totally neglected the maintenance of village lanes since as long back as 1951. It was, therefore, decided to carry out a large-scale programme for repairs of lanes and of raising their levels to facilitate drainage. The tasks to be performed under this programme were identified in terms of individual Panchayat ward and the corresponding Panchayat ward member, along with other prominent residents, to supervise the construction work and pass the payment of wages of the labourers for the work done by them. This process of (a) bypassing the bureaucratic red tape and corruption, (b) involving the community in identifying the community assets for development under this programme and (c) providing gainful employment to those who are most in need, yielded rich dividends to the village leadership and the community as a whole.

There were several other outcomes of this process of bringing

democratisation within the communities of these four villages. In two of them, Haringhata and Amdanga, women had already organised themselves in Mahila Mandals to deal with special problems faced by women and to work for improving their social status. During the visit of an investigator to Haringhata in December 1979, it was observed that the local youth club had staged a demonstration in front of the PHC to protest against the late arrival of the doctor. The chance remark of the Panchayat head of Dakshin Duttapara in 1979 that many of the residents had sought, on their own, his assistance in obtaining family planning services from the PHC and that he too advised many others to go in for family planning methods, provided an interesting insight into the generation of motivation for family planning within the community, entirely independent of promotional efforts of the official family planning establishment.

When interviewed during the revisits, the trend of the responses of the village leadership, which were controlling these villages during the first round, and others belonging to the upper classes in the four West Bengal villages was that the CPI-M had captured political power in their villages by misguiding the poorer sections of the village populations who were illiterate and ignorant. They did recognise that the new leadership had succeeded in implementing many good programmes, but, according to them, all their good work for the poor faded into insignificance if the fact was recognised that the CPI-M workers were using public money to strengthen their cadres in villages. While making these allegations, they obviously overlooked the fact that when they themselves were in power, State resources were used to strengthen supporters of their own parties, who happened to belong to their own class. Even the funds which were specifically earmarked for the poor were siphoned off by their party supporters. When asked whether it was possible to reach the poor without giving room to the criticism of supporting the CPI-M supporters (who mostly happen to be poor), the response of these people was very significant: "If democracy is to be saved in West Bengal, all developmental assistance must be channelled through government functionaries and that through the CPI-M cadres or Panchayats."

Considerable attention has been paid to aspects of social and political change in the four West Bengal villages because these stand out very clearly from the remaining fifteen villages and their experience may provide some inkling of possible changes that may occur in other parts of the country. This, however, should not obscure some glaring shortcomings in the social, economic and political movements in these West Bengal villages. A lot more remains to be done to evolve leaderships at various levels which have a clearer vision and are capable of making a better analysis of the existing situation, to develop deeper political and social consciousness among the masses and make more effective use of the available resources to provide better service to the masses. There are still a large number of poor people in these villages and they continue to suffer from poverty, exploitation and social and economic discrimination with very meagre access to such social services as health, education and housing. It is also quite clear from the revisits that there is still a long distance to be covered by the poor people of the West Bengal villages before they achieve their rightful place in the community.

In the seven villages of Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, as also to a somewhat lesser extent, in the two villages of Gujarat, the enthusiasm that was generated following the dismantling of the notorious programmes of the Emergency was not sustained with the help of positive programmes. Instead, many of the Harijans, Muslims and others belonging to lower castes, who had so enthusiastically participated in the overthrow of the previous governments, began to discover to their utter dismay that the new rulers at the Central, state and village levels were inclined to take away from them even the very modest gains they had achieved during the Emergency, and before.

For instance, emboldened by the changed political climate, moneylenders began claiming repayment of loans written off during the Emergency. Landholders also started to find various pretexts to take back the very modest parcels of land that had been redistributed to the landless in the past. The process of allotment of house sites to Harijans slackened still further. All these considerably heightened social tensions within the villages.

The tensions became so high in Arnavali that they took the form of an open conflict between the dominant landholding Jats and Harijan labourers. Jats from surrounding villages also joined this campaign. They stopped selling irrigation water to those Harijans who had few parcels of land in the midst of their fields; forbade them from grazing their cattle in their fields after the crop had been harvested; and finally, took recourse to an economic boycott by not hiring the Harijans. Some of the Harijans were physically assaulted causing several casualties. In a nearby village, three Harijans were reported to have been beaten to death. Fear-stricken, many of them fled the village, finding jobs in Meerut, Delhi and other cities. However, the Brahmins and the former socialist Jat leader, Pramode Bharati showed considerable courage in providing shelter, protection and work for many of the persecuted Harijans. When the Jats finally realised that they could pressurise the Harijans thus far and no further, they relented and calm was restored again in Arnavali. Subsequent visits have, however, revealed that this has left a deep and a lasting scar in the minds of Harijan labourers.

Because of inadequate commitment at political and administrative levels and the conspicuous lack of concern for the weaker sections in the villages, many ambitious programmes for their welfare have failed to make any impact. It was possible to study the Antyodaya programme in the nine north Indian villages—Rohat, Rampura, Bilaspur, Rupal, Kachhona, Sunni, Rohota and Arnavali where it failed to make any impact whatsoever. The Antyodaya programme was launched to bring about improvement of the status of the poorest of the poor by offering financial assistance. Antyodaya families of these villages were sanctioned money to buy cattle, goats, bullock-carts and horse-carts. Half to a third of the advance was in the form of a grant and the rest was given as interest-free loans to be repaid in instalments. Study of the actual implementation of the programme revealed that in each of the nine villages:

- (a) There was considerable delay in according the necessary administrative and financial sanctions for the programme at various levels of the state administrative machineries.
- (b) Because of various considerations, the process of selection

got vitiated and all the Antyodaya beneficiaries were not among the poorest of the poor.

- (c) There was considerable corruption all along the line. The bank manager, the veterinary surgeon and the village level workers of the community development programme extracted their share of the "cuts" before they gave their approval to the purchase of cattle/goats/horses/bullocks for Antyodaya families.
- (d) Because of the various "cuts", the quality of the animal purchased was much below what was warranted by the money advanced by the government.
- (e) Perhaps because of frustrations due to bureaucratic delays, village intrigues and blatant corruption in purchase, Antyodaya beneficiaries themselves did not appear to take the programme seriously. Very often, they frittered away whatever finally came in their hands.

It was bad enough that some of the concerned officials should have indulged in corruption so openly. A matter of even greater concern was the cynicism that crept into the minds of villagers after witnessing it. Bureaucratic inertia and cold indifference to the needs of the poor and the oppressed, in addition to corruption, underlines the formidable nature of the obstacles that need to be overcome to provide succour to the poorest of poor. That it is essentially a political question has been vividly brought out from the data of four West Bengal villages. Politicisation of the poor in these West Bengal villages has enabled villagers to make more effective use of the available resources, be it Food for Work Programme, be it a loan programme of the Small Farmers Development Agency or resources for flood relief or agricultural inputs provided in the experimental projects and demonstration centres of the Kalyani Agricultural University.

Due to various administrative issues associated with relationships between the state and the Union Government, and due to inertia within the state government itself, the Adult Literacy Programme could be launched in these four villages of West Bengal only towards the end of 1979. As in other developmental programmes, this has made very rapid headway and become quite popular with villagers. However, during the last visit (February 1981), it was observed that it had come to a virtual

standstill, allegedly because the Union Government had stopped grants to it. Only in one of the remaining fifteen villages could an investigator find any trace of the Adult Literacy Programme. This was in the village Rupal. There too, the programme had been stopped for the past several months because the "teacher got busy preparing for his own examinations."

Compared to the villages of Gujarat, Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, utilisation of resources meant for community development was distinctly better in the six southern villages.

In summary, it can be asserted that during this period, social tensions increased significantly. In West Bengal, social forces have been strong enough to bring about a significant shift in political power from the upper to the lower strata. Though these forces were not so strong in the nine villages of Gujarat, Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, there have been greater assertions of their rights by deprived sections of populations sometimes precipitating into conflicts between them and the upper classes. Evidence of restiveness among the deprived sections was also found in the six southern villages. The landless labourers in the Kerala villages, Coyalmanam and Pazham-balakode, have agitated for higher wage rates. Other workers in these villages resorted to strike action for the same purpose. In the three Karnataka villages, the Harijans have acquired a better bargaining position by adopting a more militant posture. Simmerings had also been noted in the big Harijan colony of Pullambadi in Tamil Nadu, where the Harijans started questioning why the supply of tap water to them should be so inadequate and why the Odeyar community should allow the village tank to overflow into their colony during the rainy season.

CHANGES AFTER THE 1980 ELECTIONS

Change in the Union Government, with changes in the state governments of Gujarat, Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh in 1980 meant little change in the social programmes that were being followed earlier. Return of the Congress (I) Party heralded the return of the 20-point programme, but implementation has been even more casual than before. The new governments have not made any policy statement concerning abandonment

of the Antyodaya and Adult Literacy Programme. But they have done nothing to revive them either.

Except for the four West Bengal villages, programmes of community development, Food for Work and other relief programmes are going on at the same pace. For West Bengal, this change in the Union Government has sharpened the conflicts between it and the Union Government. The impact of these conflicts is being felt in the four villages. A reduction in the resources for the Food for Work Programme has caused great anxiety among the poor. Against the strong political winds blowing in favour of Congress (I) in the country, people of West Bengal renewed their confidence in the state government by sending a still larger number of candidates of the United Left Front to the Lok Sabha, with an even larger mandate. However, their success in recapturing political power at the Centre has made the main local opposition party, Congress (I), more strident in its clamour for removal of the United Left Front government to "save democracy" and restore "law and order". With tacit support from the Union Government and enormous financial resources at its command, this relentless propaganda has now become more intense and the pressure to retrieve the administrative power of popularly elected representatives over resources by bureaucrats, has become much stronger. Leaderships of the four Panchayats see this as machinations of the ruling party at the Centre to destroy their credibility among the people. They also realise that if the Centre precipitates a showdown, their options are limited. Because of various kinds of alleged obstructions in the implementation of development programmes, particularly in the implementation of the Food for Work Programme and because of constant threats of intervention by the Union Government, during the February 1981 revisits to the four villages, the author could observe distinct signs of slackening of development activities in these villages. This has caused considerable disappointment among the people, particularly the poor. There were also some indications that these setbacks in the programmes are becoming issues for political action.

The fall of the state governments in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh was welcomed by the weaker sections, as this meant some reduction in harassment from rich farmers,

moneylenders and traders. This also meant that Brahmins and other upper castes, who supported the new governments, would have greater access to political power at the state and Central levels.

The split in the ruling party in Karnataka and return of the AIADMK in Tamil Nadu have also not brought about any significant change in the pace or direction of developmental programmes in the four villages belonging to these two states.

However, the change of the state government in Kerala and changes in the village Panchayats (in 1980) in two Kerala villages has brought about a major realignment of forces. Also, in the Lok Sabha elections held earlier in 1980, Kerala sent many more non-Congress (I) MPs.

As a result of the changes at the state and Panchayat levels, many villagers, who had enjoyed the patronage of the state government had to forego it; instead, they had to confront a newly emerging trade union movement within rural areas, for example trade unions of workers have been formed in the rice mills and the workers of a private bus company in Coyalmanam are making new wage claims. The richer people bitterly complained about what they called "excessive and irresponsible unionisation which is affecting virtually all aspects of economic life in the state." There is also a call for bonus for all kinds of workers, including agricultural labourers. The new government and the Panchayats are committed to give pension to old people and to widows who have nobody to support them; the Panchayat has also promised financial support for marriage of daughters of such widows. All these have aroused considerable expectations among the poor in Coyalmanam and Pazham-balakode villages.

CANVASSING AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF THE POPULATIONS DURING THE FIVE ELECTIONS: 1977-80

As has been pointed out earlier, most of the nineteen villages went through as many as five elections—a Lok Sabha and a state election in 1977 and in 1980 and a Panchayat election in between. It was of particular interest to note the extent to which the election processes influenced the social relations thereby contributing to the development of social awareness among

different segments. Another aspect of interest was the way different parties and candidates mobilised votes for these elections.

The revisits provided opportunities to collect some very valuable data on these aspects. An election caused considerable ferment within a village population. Of particular interest were the strategy and tactics of rival candidates to woo poorer sections. It was observed that such wooing arouses two types of responses from those subjected to it. First, they feel flattered at being the focus of so much attention. This makes them value their votes and perhaps this is why proportionately more people from these sections exercise their franchise more frequently than others. Second, past experience makes some of them cynical about the promises and programmes of different candidates and they end up voting for "the highest bidder".

THE 1977 ELECTIONS TO LOK SABHA AND STATE LEGISLATURES

Behaviour of the electorate in the Lok Sabha elections, particularly in the three states covering the seven villages of north India (Haryana, Rajasthan and U.P.) was an expression of their revulsion against the excesses and atrocities committed during the Emergency. This feeling created an unprecedented interest among the electorate and many of those, who had voted for the then ruling party for decades, shifted their allegiance with the specific purpose of throwing out the party which was responsible for causing so much misery to the people. This was fully exploited by the leadership of the Janata alliance of opposition parties which scored a landslide victory following an unusually large turnout of voters.

Elections to the state legislatures took place after five months and the momentum generated among the people had already started to wane by the time these were held. But it was still strong enough to rout the ruling party, though both the sweep of the victory as well as the turnout was distinctly lower.

In the six villages of the three southern states the then ruling party even managed to increase its strength in the Lok Sabha elections. No mid-term elections were held for the state legislatures.

As the two Gujarat villages, Rupal and Gambhoi, did not suffer as much from Emergency excesses, the swing in favour of Janata Party was comparatively more moderate. However, it was strong enough to send an opposition candidate (Janata) to the Lok Sabha once again and to unseat the Congress candidate who represented the constituency having Rupal and Gambhoi for the state legislature.

As indicated earlier, the situation in West Bengal was qualitatively different from that in the other states. Here, not only was the political complexion of alliance of opposition parties markedly different because left parties such as CPI-M, Forward Bloc and Revolutionary Socialist Party claimed a major share of the candidates that were put up by the alliance for the election, but often the issues in the election campaign went much beyond the issue of imposition of Emergency in 1975-76. The left-wing parties focussed their campaign against the unjust character of the prevailing social and economic relations, the systematic oppression for more than a decade prior to the Emergency of those who attempted to organise the poor. This alliance recorded a convincing victory against the ruling party with a very high turnover of voters.

There was a split in the opposition alliance in West Bengal before elections to the state legislature were held later in 1980. It split into two—one remaining the Janata Party, which had obtained overwhelming support at the Centre, and other forming a six-party United Left Front consisting of the CPI-M, the Forward Bloc, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and three other smaller leftist parties. The Congress Party had also split in two with the formation of a separate party—the Indira Congress or Congress (I). Despite having the new ruling party and the Centre ranged against it, the United Left Front actually improved its electoral performance. On the basis of the data that were collected from the four villages of West Bengal at the time when the election campaign was being conducted, the convincing victory of the United Left Front can be attributed to its much better organisational base, its more intensive and intelligently conducted campaign, extensive mobilisation of the people and, above all, the raising of political issues perceived as more meaningful by the masses of people of the state. The West Bengal villages

provided a sharp contrast in the style of electioneering of different political parties, both within these four villages as well as with the electioneering of these parties in the other fifteen villages.

Workers of the United Left Front parties were drawn mostly from the poorer sections and they worked very hard, doing house-to-house canvassing, making hand-written posters and placards, organising processions, including torch-light processions and bicycle processions and holding street-corner meetings. The election campaigns of the opposing parties were based on use of money to hire men and material to promote their candidates.

Another very striking contrast was that the elections were fought on issues rather than on personalities and functions. While the United Front focussed on economic and social issues, fear of a communist take-over to form a totalitarian regime, was the main plank of the major parties opposing the front.

Again in terms of turnout of voters and involvement of the population in the elections to state legislatures also, the four West Bengal villages were far ahead of the rest, excepting Coyal-mannam and Pazhambalakode of Kerala.

THE 1980 ELECTIONS TO LOK SABHA AND STATE LEGISLATURES

A study of the social process of the elections to the Lok Sabha and six of the state legislatures in 1980 from within the nineteen villages provided valuable insights into the entire sweep of the social, economic and political changes that have occurred in these villages during 1979-80. This enabled the author not only to have a closer look at some of the basic statistical aspects of what is called a "sweeping mandate" of the people to the Congress of Mrs Indira Gandhi (the so-called "Indira Wave") but also to examine the cultural and social determinants of this mandate.

In this context, the failure of yet another very determined effort to sweep West Bengal and Kerala with the "Indira Wave" attains considerable social and political significance. Comparison of data from direct observations of the election process in 1980 from within the nineteen villages has shown clearly that

the people of these two states have been able to withstand these waves so stoutly not because of any peculiarities of the culture of the Bengalis or Malayalis as such, but because of their greater political awareness. It was surprising that even with the manifestly limited political education, the masses in West Bengal and Kerala have been successful in repulsing the many very determined election onslaughts of the upper classes. One can venture to forecast that similar political changes will sweep through the other states of the country when the poor in these states acquire that level of political consciousness. Paradoxically, if acquisition of political power becomes an end in itself, then this acquisition of power might become an obstacle to further growth and development of political education of the masses, which is so essential for ushering in a more just social order.

This study has also revealed the fact that once the upper classes realise that their interests are being threatened by such elections, they are prepared to adopt any means, fair or foul, to fight back. Then even the hoary traditions and conventions which had hitherto been considered to be so sacrosanct do not remain so. Power to the people through Panchayati Raj was branded as a threat to democracy because this was supposed to strengthen communists. 'Operation Barga' was not considered as a movement to give sharecroppers their legal rights, but was projected as a threat to peaceful harvesting. Even after getting massive support through what they themselves called free and fair elections, the United Left Front government is supposed to have forfeited any right to rule because of the supposed breakdown of law and order. It was observed that these detractors had repeatedly failed in their attempts to mobilise people in their favour. Such failure has made them more frustrated and more desperate. They managed to mobilise and manipulate many media of mass communication to lend credibility to their unfounded allegations. These forces have been so keen on dislodging the United Left Front government in West Bengal that they did not hesitate to inflame communal passions among Muslims against what they alleged to be the Godless creed of communism. This was particularly apparent in the village Amdanga where Muslims are in a majority. The detractors of

the United Left Front government in West Bengal had backed up all these allegations with a threat of getting both the state governments and Panchayats dismissed by the Union Government and, by implication, bring back the well-known toughs under garbs of youth and student leaders to "clean up" political life in the state.

The situation in the six other states was quite different. As pointed out earlier, soon after the coming into power of Janata governments at the Centre and in the states, a feeling of insecurity drove most of the Harijans, Muslims and other poor people back into the fold of the Congress(I). As pointed out in Chapter 5, the weaker sections had to choose the lesser of the two evils. This eminently sums up the political situation in the six states: the upper classes are in command and the lower classes have to seek the best bargain from them under the conditions prevailing at the time. This swing back in the allegiance of the weaker sections, together with almost perpetual infighting within the Janata Party (which ultimately led to its split in 1979), steep rise in prices, acute scarcity of many essential goods, difficulties in getting diesel oil and kerosene and acute shortage of electricity for irrigation pumps, generated a sense of despondency and apathy even among the more prosperous sections of rural populations. This was an important reason why more than half of the population did not care to exercise their franchise in the elections to the Lok Sabha and to the state legislature in 1980.

These developments suited the Congress(I) very well. With enormous financial and administrative resources at their command and skilful use of the personality of Mrs Indira Gandhi, the party workers could bring about considerable mobilisation of the weaker sections in their favour. This ensured a high rate of voter turnout among these sections of the population. Along with the low turnout among the traditionally anti-Congress voters, this became a crucial element in the so-called sweeping victory of the Congress (I) in the 1980 elections to the Lok Sabha and to the state legislatures of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

Even ignoring allegations of gross election malpractices, including misuse of government machinery and rigging of polls, the impact of disproportionately large turnout of voters who

belong to the weaker sections has turned out to be a decisive factor in ensuring victory of the Congress. Even purely from a statistical angle, what had been projected as a massive mandate from the people essentially consisted of support from less than a quarter of the electorate or less than half of those who actually exercised their franchise. Direct observations from within the villages during the elections tended to confirm the deductions drawn from this purely statistical analysis.

The fragility of the democratic content of the elections was vividly demonstrated in the villages of the states of Haryana and Tamil Nadu. After Haryana had swung back to Congress (I) in the 1980 Lok Sabha elections, the Janata Chief Minister forestalled a similar fate meeting his government by the simple expedient of shifting his allegiance to Congress (I) and taking along with him a sufficient number of members of the state legislatures to form a stable Congress (I) government in the state. In Tamil Nadu, again, more than any ideology or programme, elections were a question of choice of two film personalities. In the Lok Sabha election, Shri Karunanidhi of the DMK swept the polls in alliance with Congress (I) and with the help of a powerful party of rich farmers. However, for elections to the state legislature later in 1980, even the combined charisma of Shri Karunanidhi and Mrs Gandhi could not counter the charisma of the incumbent Chief Minister-cum-film star of the All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK); with the rich farmers' party this time giving the backing to the AIADMK, which, with its allies claimed a sweeping victory in the state elections.

In terms of party affiliations, in the Lok Sabha elections, apart from the two constituencies covering the four West Bengal villages going to the CPI-M, one constituency (Bagpat) covering Rohota and Arnavali going to the Lok Dal (a splinter party of the first split of the Janata Party) representing its president and the former Prime Minister, Shri Charan Singh, and one constituency covering village Jadigenhalli (Bangalore south) going to Janata Party, all the remaining twelve villages covering seven Lok Sabha constituencies went to the Congress Party (including one to its ally—DMK, which covered the village Pullambadi).

Elections to the state legislatures were held to cover fourteen

of the study villages belonging to six states. The two Kerala constituencies covering Coyalmannam and Pazhambalakode went to CPI-M. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a splinter party formed after the second split in the Janata Party in 1979, captured the constituency covering the two Gujarat villages, Rupal and Gambhoi, and the other covering the villages, Kachhona and Sunni of U.P. AIADMK came back at Pullambadi to reclaim the constituency covering it. The remaining seven villages covered by four constituencies went to Congress(I).

ELECTIONS TO VILLAGE PANCHAYATS

Three features distinguish the elections to village Panchayats that were held during the study period. Firstly, the fact that in 11 villages covered by West Bengal, Kerala, Karnataka and Rajasthan, Panchayat elections were held after a long time, provides yet another indication of increase in social and political ferment within the villages which compelled the ruling political parties to hold these elections. These elections symbolise the defeat of the political forces which had managed to stall the elections for such a long period.

Secondly, this time the elections generated considerable enthusiasm within the electorates. There was a lot more extensive electioneering and votes were sought from people on the basis of more specific issues.

Thirdly, in all the villages an entirely new generation of leaders had taken over the control of village Panchayats—young and more familiar with the outside world. They are better educated, they are much better informed in political terms and much more skilful in extracting a higher "price" for their political support.

In the two Gujarat villages, Panchayat elections were held when they became due in the normal course. In the six villages of U.P., Haryana and Tamil Nadu, even though long overdue, no elections were held. Indeed, in Tamil Nadu, the state government had taken a step backward by superseding the existing Panchayat bodies.

In the four villages of West Bengal, and later on, in the two villages of Kerala, the election battle was fought on the basis of political parties and programmes. In West Bengal, instead of

the United Left Front, each of its constituents fought on its own. Efforts to mobilise the electorate in the four villages in favour of candidates for rival parties were even more intensive than was the case in elections to the state legislature or Lok Sabha. Rival parties adopted the already familiar methods for canvassing, though house to house canvassing was prominent. Also, electioneering was conducted mostly at nights when villagers had returned home from work. As Panchayat elections were held on issues which were more directly related to their day-to-day lives, the villagers were able to have a better appreciation of the issues. Because of these reasons, the Panchayat elections were of even greater significance in imparting political education to villagers. The CPI-M won all the four Panchayats which cover the study villages.

In the two Kerala villages, realignment of political parties, local adjustments at the village level and many "independent" candidates getting support of political parties, had considerable effect on election results. The fight was between the working classes and their supporters, and the rest, though the rival groups were very actively involved in caste and religious affiliations to mobilise support. The CPI-M captured both the Panchayats covering the two Kerala villages. Very hard work by its workers was perhaps the most important reason for its victory. Significantly, in Coyalmannam where the Congress (I) leader had enjoyed considerable support among his fellow Moplas, this time many Moplas deserted him to join the camp of working classes; there was also division of Mopla votes because of rivalry among them. It had been stated that a prolonged strike among workers employed by his company for running a passenger bus service had also adversely affected his electoral fortunes. In Pazhambalakode, Congress (I) could capture the votes of the big weaver community by offering better prices for products through better management of the village co-operative and by getting better marketing facilities using the influence of their party. Interestingly, because of this advantage the entire weaver community had shifted their support from CPI to Congress (I). The Congress (I) could also obtain support from the affluent Nair community through the support of the Nair Service Society. It also had support from the well-off farmers. However,

presumably because of much superior organisational capabilities of their rivals and their favouring the working class and the poor, Congress (I) could win only one out of the ten seats in the Pazhambalakode Panchayat, though it did give a tough fight to CPI-M and CPI-M supported independents in all the nine seats it lost to it.

Even though the Panchayat elections in the seven villages of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Karnataka were not fought in terms of rival political parties and political programmes, in all these villages, elections showed a distinct departure from the traditions followed. They were no longer considered a routine ritual to be gone through by a few influential elders of the village who came to agreement among themselves about a list of candidates and who were declared unanimously elected by government officials. All the seven villages had witnessed the old entrenched leadership being challenged by a youthful group of new leaders. There had been splits within the groups that had hitherto dominated village life. The poorer sections of the village community had also become more alive to their rights. For getting support, the rival groups of candidates had to come out with a definite platform of programmes to actively work among the people. Because of the split, the rival factions of the ruling group vied with each other in offering concessions to those belonging to the poorer sections, in order to win their support.

In the Gujarat village of Rupal, the earlier Pradhan, belonging to the Patel caste, had voluntarily resigned his position because he had failed to instal a water system in the village. Another member belonging to his caste succeeded him. However, later on, when elections were held, the rival Kshatriyas and Brahmins managed to wrest the control of the Panchayat from Patels and Banias by mobilising the support of Harijans, Muslims and other weaker sections. Similarly, in Jadigenhalli, in Karnataka, the youth among the Vokkaligas revolted against the old leadership and brought about its downfall by joining hands with the numerically strong Vanhikulas on a platform of better management of Panchayat resources. In another Karnataka village, Yelwal, the clash was between two factions among the Vokkaligas with the youthful

group winning complete control. In the Rajasthan village, Rohat, there was a direct challenge from the powerful Banias to the leadership of Raghvendra Singh, the former Jagirdar. Although the Banias of the region had managed to gain control over the seats in the Lok Sabha, state legislature and Panchayat Samiti, the electorate of the village, particularly the poorer sections, rallied round Raghvendra Singh not only to express their gratitude and appreciation to their former "master", but also to use a Kshatriya candidate to thwart the efforts of Banias to dominate the village Panchayat.

OTHER CHANGES OBSERVED IN INDIVIDUAL VILLAGES

As has been pointed out earlier, each one of the nineteen villages has undergone significant changes in the course of this study. However, expectedly, the villages differ widely in the degree and nature of the change. The villages can be broadly classified into three groups according to the degree and the nature of change:

- i. Villages which have undergone changes in terms of significant shifts in the power balance: (Haringhata, Dakshin Duttapara, Amdanga, Kamdevpur) (West Bengal) and Pazhambalakode and Coyalmanam (Kerala);
- ii. Villages which show pronounced increase in social tensions leading to changes in the leadership structures: Jadigenhalli, Yelwal, and Kalur (Karnataka) Rohat and Rampura (Rajasthan);
- iii. Villages where the leadership has managed to contain the social tensions and where the long overdue Panchayat elections have not been held: Pullambadi (Tamil Nadu), Rohota, Arnavali, Kachhona and Sunni (Uttar Pradesh) and Bilaspur (Haryana).

A FRAMEWORK FOR THE DESCRIPTION

Apart from the broad categories of social change which have been described in the earlier part of this chapter, there were still some data which threw light on certain aspects of life in individual villages. Those data become more meaningful because quite often they were collected specifically to know the

follow-up of some important issues observed earlier. It may be recalled that the revisits were made for a very specific purpose (Chapter 2) and that as the duration of these revisits was very short the effort was principally to tap the already identified sources of information. New data were collected from these sources only in so far as they helped the specific purpose. Very special efforts were made to resist the temptation of opening new avenues for study. About the data collected during the revisits, the author disclaims any intention of being comprehensive in his villagewise observations on any aspect of life in the villages. He justifies presentation of the additional data only on the ground that, when examined against the data which have already been presented, many observations which in themselves are manifestly patchy, unconnected or incomplete, make valuable contributions by enriching some of the data that have been presented earlier.

For instance, when on the basis of the latest revisits to Rupal and Gambhoi (24 March 1981) he discusses the three-month old Anti-Reservation Movement of Gujarat,¹ he does not have any pretension of discussing the Gujarat Movement as a whole or even discussing it in terms of its detailed repercussions within these two villages. But a description of the Movement as viewed by the residents of these villages (however limited) is of great significance when these are linked with the analysis and interpretation of data on the relationship between Harijans and non-Harijans and the tentative conclusions that were drawn from them (e.g. the case reports on militant actions by Harijans against practice of untouchability by the tea shop owner and by the village barber). It may also be mentioned, in passing, that this linking up of the Gujarat Movement with some of the data presented earlier and with some forecasts that had been made on the basis of such data, provides a good example of testing of forecasts (and, therefore, of the reliability and validity of the data which formed the basis of forecasts) by getting objective information on certain concrete events that have taken place subsequently. (The reference here is to discussions on this issue in Chapter 2.)

¹The Anti-Reservation Movement was withdrawn on 23 May 1981.

VILLAGES WITH SIGNIFICANT SHIFTS IN BALANCE OF POWER

The five revisits to the six villages of West Bengal and Kerala gave several opportunities to observe how the shift in the distribution of power has brought about a fundamental shift in the overall "atmosphere" in these villages. Even though there is still considerable hunger and want, the fact that the deprived sections are now able to have much greater say in the process of decision-making within the community and consequent access to much larger proportion of community resources, has brought about a pronounced qualitative, social and psychological change among them. They are no longer sullenly resigned to social and economic exploitation and deprivations. This generates some confidence. Even if this turns out to be only a short-lived phenomenon, it appears likely that the very experience of feeling liberated from many of the bondages and compulsions will have lasting social and political impact on these villagers. This feeling of liberation was also manifest in the behaviour of the new leadership of village Panchayats in these villages. They were no longer that secretive, diffident and wary when they talked to investigators. Instead, they exuded considerable enthusiasm and confidence, though they had a better appreciation of the difficulties of putting into practice the programme they had promised to their followers.

Even among these six villages, the degree of changes observed in the four villages of West Bengal was more pronounced than in the two villages of Kerala. The West Bengal villages can be described as politically different from the Kerala villages at least on the following counts:

First, political repression, including physical violence against political workers, rigging of elections, which preceded the change in power distribution, was more intensive and overt in the West Bengal villages. This created better conditions for political education of the oppressed classes.

Second, the West Bengal villages had experienced a much longer spell of the new social and political order (over three years) at the time of the last revisit; because of this, the leadership had more time to gain the confidence of the poorer sections and also make headway in putting into operation programmes

such as 'Operation Barga' and 'Food for Work'. The unprecedented floods of 1979 which engulfed all the four study villages, provided a challenge as well as an opportunity to the new leadership to give concrete evidence of their commitment to the masses.

Third, at least at the level of the villages studied, CPI-M appeared to be much stronger in the West Bengal villages than in the Kerala villages.

HARINGHATA

Observations of the implementation of the Food for Work Programme during the revisits to Haringhata provided a valuable index of the degree of democratisation that has taken place in the village community. Each Panchayat ward member held consultations with people in his ward to identify the work to be done and the persons who were to be assigned work under the programme. Repair of the village lanes and roads received top priority. The ward member also supervised the work and ensured that the workers got their due payments in the form of grains and cash. It is significant that these roads and lanes received attention for the first time since 1951. Panchayat members have also been active in registering tenant farmers (Bargadars) in the 'Operation Barga' and in using such registration to get the Bargadars their entitlements under the existing laws. Because of their efforts, the Bargadars now have much greater access to credit facilities under various programmes.

The Panchayat has also been instrumental in installing two tube-wells for drinking water in localities inhabited by poor people. In the past three to four years, many have obtained electricity connections under the Rural Electrification Programme of the state.

Establishment of youth organisations for men and women by the ruling party has been another significant development in Haringhata. These organisations are meant to provide political and social education to men and women. A women's organisation—the Mahila Mandal—has a membership of over 500 women from surrounding villages. This is a political wing of the CPI-M. Apart from political activities, it organises literacy

classes for women, provides them opportunities to acquire skills to improve their economic positions. This organisation also encourages greater participation of women in co-operative activities and cottage industries. It is also active in promoting health of women and children and family planning.

A very striking change in Haringhata has been the virtual disappearance of the village leaders who were in control of the village at the beginning of the study (1972). The old leaders have lost even the support of the relatively better off sections of the population who have chosen new, much younger leaders, most of whom are not associated with agriculture. They have much greater links with trade and many have sedentary jobs. They have formed a club called "Young Men's Association"; the members come to the club after the day's work to play various indoor games. The club also serves as a political forum for its members. According to the members of this club, CPI-M has used the Food for Work Programme to strengthen its own cadres in the village. They also consider 'Operation Barga' a threat to law and order.

The contrast in the approach to mobilisation of villagers in favour of the viewpoints of the two classes came out very vividly during the Lok Sabha elections of 1980. The affluent sections spent considerable sums of money in hiring people, using cars and cycle rickshaws fitted with loudspeakers and pasting expensively produced posters to arouse people's apprehensions concerning implementation of Food for Work Programme and 'Operation Barga' and to project the image of their national leader as the saviour of the country and democracy. The focus of the other class was on house to house campaigning and generating enthusiasm among their supporters by organising impressive torchlight processions on bicycles at nights.

Another notable change in Haringhata has been a reduction by half in the number of Muslim households within eight years. Many Muslim families have been forced to abandon their homes because of even further deterioration in their economic situation. It has also been reported that on hearing rumours that they can grab the lands of Bangladeshi Hindus, who had been forced to migrate to India, some families had migrated to Bangladesh only to discover that the lands had already been

grabbed by the local Muslims. Those who have remained, manage to continue a precarious existence serving as "permanent" labourers under some richer farmers. Presumably because of their abject dependence on rich farmers, they keep a distance from the activities of other poorer sections of Haringhata, both socially and politically.

There has also been a significant decline in the incidence of women committing suicide by swallowing Follidol.

DAKSHIN DUTTAPARA

Although Dakshin Duttapara has also undergone many social and political changes which are similar to Haringhata, these changes have not generated as much tensions as in the case of Haringhata. It may be because Dakshin Duttapara is a smaller village predominantly agricultural without many rich people. While the political struggle has been quite intense, the success of the CPI-M led merely to a shift in the leadership from one group of middle peasants to another group consisting of middle and small peasants. Indeed, realising well how the new leadership has been able to provide assistance to the poor sections through effective implementation of the Food for Work Programme and 'Operation Barga', the defeated group of leaders have developed almost a grudging admiration for the new leadership. An observation made by the former Panchayat chief of the village: "They deserved the support they got from the masses because they could do what we failed to do all these long years."

In their turn, the new leaders of the Panchayat took care to see that their political opponents were not denied their fair share of the resources made available through various programmes. For instance, when they succeeded in acquiring additional inputs for the village in the form of agricultural demonstration projects of the nearby Agricultural University at Kalyani and through Integrated Rural Development Programme and Small Farmers Development Agency, peasants belonging to the rival parties also received their due share from the Panchayat members. This enabled the new leadership to mobilise a much larger proportion of the village population for implementation of various programmes.

In 1973, when the study was started in Dakshin Duttapara, the condition of the main road of the village had become almost intolerable due to long neglect. It used to become a muddy swamp during the rains. The old leadership had been unable to do anything about it. The prompt action of the new leadership to get the road repaired under the Food for Work Programme made a very favourable impression on all sections of the village population.

AMDANGA

The tension generated by shift in the power distribution has been even higher in Amdanga than that in Haringhata. Apart from projecting the control of the Food for Work Programme by the Marxist-dominated Panchayat as a "danger to democracy" and 'Operation Barga' as a threat to law and order, the old leadership has not hesitated in arousing communal passions to whip up anti-Marxist hysteria. This was very much in evidence in the 1977 and 1980 Lok Sabha election campaigns of Congress (I) to defeat CPI-M. However, the fact that a big proportion of the Muslims of Amdanga renewed their mandate in favour of CPI-M attests to the organisational strength of that party. The villagers of Amdanga had also voted for CPI-M in the Panchayat elections.

KAMDEVPUR

Although Arun Maity continues to thrive as a practitioner of occult medicine and as a soothsayer, and through his prosperity the village continues to receive various kinds of benefits, the years have shown a gradual decline in his political control over the villagers. The result of the elections show that many who were earlier his faithful followers, have developed courage to work against his wishes. Not one of the nominees of Arun Maity, who fought the Panchayat elections under the banner of the Congress (I) party, was successful.

PAZHAMBALAKODE

As a change in the distribution of power in the village has been brought about as a result of realignment of political parties,

the "atmosphere" in Pazhambalakode is somewhat different from what is observed in the West Bengal villages. There has been considerable increase in militancy of various types of labourers and a general feeling in the village that considerable corruption exists at every level of the government machinery. There have also been several instances of blatant political opportunism. These feelings, coupled with high rates of unemployment and under-employment, sharp fall in the price of rice, and acute scarcity of essential goods, have generated an attitude of cynicism among a broad section of the population of Pazhambalakode.

Three of the Panchayat members, who won their seats as CPI-M supported "Independents" had earlier been in Congress (I). They realised that with the CPI-M growing somewhat stronger, carrying the label of "CPI-M-supported Independents" would improve their chances of getting elected to the Panchayat and maintaining their position within the village.

During this period, there has been a pronounced increase in corruption in Pazhambalakode. This may be because it has now become even more difficult to get a job. With the growth in population size and increase in the number of unemployed (including many "educated" unemployed), there has been a sharp rise in "price" of different jobs, (e.g. that of a school teacher) and such prices are being demanded more openly. A CPI-M Panchayat member betrayed his cynicism when he observed, "For any public work, one-third of the money goes to government personnel as bribe, another third is cornered by contractors and only a third reaches the public." His views are shared by many in Pazhambalakode.

The minimum wage for agricultural labour has been raised from Rs 7.00 to Rs 9.20. Agricultural labourers are now also demanding that they be registered as workers and given bonus, leave and benefits of the Employees State Insurance Scheme. On the other side, the employers are getting increasingly exasperated because of fall in the price of paddy and sharp increase in the price of various kinds of agricultural inputs. Realising this predicament of the employers, many of the labourers have considerably toned down their demands, even including their insistence on the minimum wage.

The CPI-M-led trade union of labourers had launched a strike action against the powerful Ezhawa landlord of Pazhambalakode. This led to a very bitter and protracted dispute. In the end, the landlord succeeded in breaking the strike.

The condition of the big weaver community has become even more precarious. Four members of a family manage to earn about Rs 10 after 10 to 12 hours of hard work. They were earlier supporters of the CPI, but with the Congress (I) being able to offer them better terms through the weavers' co-operative, they have switched their loyalty to that party. The weaver community had voted for Congress (I) candidates in all elections including that to the new executive body of the co-operative. The Congress (I)-led executive reciprocated this support by offering them Rs 50,000 as Onam bonus.

Despite many problems, the new Panchayat has managed to win some admiration from the people by promising to provide old age pension to labourers and offering financial support to widows without any support, by improving the village water supply and street lighting. The Panchayat has also promised to supply water and electricity free of cost to all Harijans.

A piped water supply system was installed in the village in 1976. A commercial theatre has also been built. An enterprising young man had been enacting many plays in this theatre. Many of these carried a political message. But he had finally to give up for lack of financial support. He had to sell the theatre. The new owner has now switched to the lucrative trade of screening glossy feature films.

The ownership of the village high school has passed from the Nairs to an Italian Christian organisation. According to a senior teacher of the school, schools have become lucrative business. He observed that the Italian mission had "bought" the school for a lakh and half rupees and has already made two lakhs of rupees from it.

There had been further depletion in the ranks of Brahmins. From the previous twenty families, it has dwindled to five, giving an even more desolate appearance to their Brahmin Gramam.

COYALMANNAM

This village shares many of the political and social changes which have taken place in Pazhambalakode. A significant

observation here was that even though it has a sizeable Muslim population and the dethroned Panchayat chief is a Muslim, unlike what is observed in Amdanga, the Muslim leader did not whip up communal passions to fight his adversaries during elections to the Panchayat, Lok Sabha or to the state legislature. Cultural differences, different historical background of the Moplas and the different pattern of social and economic relations may account for this difference between Amdanga and Pazhambalakode. It may also be because the opponents of CPI-M are so frustrated and desperate in Amdanga, that they do not hesitate to use this last weapon in their armoury.²

The change in the power structure in Coyalmannam had added to the problems of managing the land and various other enterprises owned by Mahmood Hussain. He complained of frequent strike actions, indiscipline among workers and demands for higher wages, bonus, leave and E.S.I.S. benefits. However, despite these problems, during these years, Mahmood Hussain has considerably expanded his business. In addition to the petrol pump, the merchandise shop and the rice mill, he has acquired a fleet of buses and the necessary licence to run passenger services on the Palghat route. He also has a thriving business in automobile spare parts. He continues to have considerable influence on the social and religious life of the Muslims by maintaining control over the village mosque and Madarssa.

The number of Brahmin households has gone down from about 200 to 70. The feeling of gloom and despondency among those remaining is now much deeper.

VILLAGES WHERE LEADERSHIPS HAVE CHANGED BUT HAS NO PARTICIPATION OF THE POOR

As pointed out earlier, Jadigenhalli, Yelwal, Kalur, Rupal, Gambhoi, Rohota and Rampura belong to this category of the study villages. While there have been significant changes in the power structure, they have not resulted in any significant increase in the percolation of power to the poorer sections. These changes have three distinguishing features:

² The Kerala Government fell on 19 October 1981.

- i. They are brought about as a result of successful overthrow of the old leadership by a new youthful group of leaders.
- ii. The new leadership is outward-looking, with economic linkages with cities. Villagers perceive these leaders as "self-made, confident men, familiar with strangers." (The leaders have linkages with Congress (I) and the Youth Congress (I) in the case of the three Karnataka villages—Jadigenhalli, Yelwal and Kalur.)
- iii. Even though the sharp division in the village community has shattered the social stability observed in 1972-73, in 1980 (when the "Janata Wave" had already receded), the opposing groups claimed to be staunch supporters of Congress (I), because "Indira Gandhi is ruling both at the state and at the Centre and it is always desirable to be on the side of the rulers."

JADIGENHALLI

The decision of the state government to hold Panchayat elections in 1978 after a lapse of more than ten years itself provides an indication of the degree of restiveness within the village community. The elections also heralded the end of the power monopoly of the Vokkaligas. The youthful faction of this caste mobilised the numerically stronger Vanhikula community to challenge the old leadership. The main plank of this challenge was the old leadership's failure to instal street lighting and water supply in Jadigenhalli, mismanagement and corruption in distribution of water for irrigation from the Panchayat tank and poor collection of Panchayat dues. Sensing that their support had dwindled considerably, the old leadership argued for a compromise, saying that the Panchayat would be able to get the reward of Rs 500 if they had an agreed list of candidates elected without a contest. But the challengers turned down this offer and went on to capture all the 13 seats. They vindicated the confidence reposed on them by the villagers by bringing about dramatic changes in the working of the Panchayat in the form of better civic amenities and better management of finances. On the basis of the record of good work done by them they could also rout the old guard in the 1979 election to the

executive committee of Sericulture Co-operative. This co-operative had come into existence in 1976.

In 1978, there was an outbreak of Japanese Encephalitis in this region. At the suggestion of public health workers, the Panchayat mobilised the entire village and promptly cleaned up all the shrubs within the village, which were allegedly harbouring disease-carrying mosquitoes.

This shift in the leadership has shown that the youthful rebels among Vokkaligas have given precedence to more efficient management of resources over their loyalty to the Vokkaliga caste. In the bargain, the Vanhikulas have become more influential. With these changes a larger number of Vanhikulas have found places in managing affairs of the village.

In the elections to the Lok Sabha and to the state legislature in 1980, the villagers showed an interesting response to the further split in Congress (I) with the formation of Urs faction of Congress (I). Before the split occurred, Chief Minister Urs used to attribute his successes to the personality of Mrs Gandhi. Therefore, when he later parted company with her, the villagers of Jadigenhalli (as also of Yelwal and Kalur) took Shri Urs at his word, and attributed all the good work of the state government to Mrs Gandhi. As a result, a large number of them put the stamp on the "hand" symbol of the candidates of Mrs Gandhi. On being asked whom did they vote in the elections, they said they "voted for Indira Gandhi." When the election result became known, many who had gambled to stay on with Shri Urs' party promptly climbed into the Indira Gandhi bandwagon by changing their party label to Congress (I).

A remarkable feature of the change in Jadigenhalli has been further expansion and diversification of the market economy of the village. This is in the form of production of more cash crops, opening of a clay pipe factory (which offered employment to 20 people) and capturing of petty public works contracts by the youth groups through their political connections in Bangalore. In fact, the new Panchayat chief has managed to find almost permanent residential facilities within the Legislators' Hostel in Bangalore. The number of telephone connections have gone up from five to eleven. An entrepreneur has found it worthwhile to pay a substantial rent to the Panchayat to set up a cinema hall

(built of bamboos and thatch) which has now become quite a lucrative concern. Apart from grapes, many farmers have made large profits by cultivating flowers, bitter gourd, ginger and other vegetables for the Bangalore market. These changes have further improved employment conditions in Jadigenhalli. Now farmers have started to complain that they have to pay advance money to get labourers for their farms. They also complain of very high wages and laziness of the labourers.

Though the social status of the poor has remained unchanged, it was observed that they are getting more restive and better organised. This time, election campaigners had to pay them a higher price in cash before they stamped on the "Hand" symbol of Indira Gandhi. In an effort to win them over, the erstwhile Urs government had built 20 houses for the weaker sections. It had started a Youth Centre for providing recreation programmes for the youth.

The Food for Work Programme is run by the state public works department and there have been many complaints of corruption in the implementation of the programme.

Three old persons, who have no dependents, have been given old age pension ranging from Rs 40 to Rs 60 per month.

A number of new shops have come up at the market place. It is significant that as against only one tailoring shop in 1972-73, now there are four such. A co-operative store for fertilisers and pesticides has also been established in this period.

Jadigenhalli now has a brand new building for its high school.

There has been a qualitative change in the attitude of Vanhikulas. They have more self-confidence and enthusiasm. Correspondingly, there is an aura of despondency in the Vokkaliga camp.

YELWAL

There are many similarities between Jadigenhalli and Yelwal in the changes that have taken place. Yelwal also had a change in the leadership—a revolt of the youth; similar methods have been used by workers of Congress (I) to make the Harijans and other backward sections vote for the party. The Youth Welfare Department of the state government has also started a youth

club called Ramakrishna Youth Club in Yelwal, and people of the village also widely share the view that "it was Indira Gandhi, and not Devaraj Urs, who brought about various improvements in the village."

The factional cleavage among Vokkaligas, which was observed during the first visit to Yelwal, has considerably increased over the years. A major cause of discord has been the lease of fishing rights for the village tank. The old Panchayat had leased it to one party. This lease was nullified when, on the advice of the state fisheries department, the lease was given to two of the villagers, who had received training from that department. As this caused considerable resentment among a section of villagers, they used all their political influence at the taluk, district and state levels to get this decision reversed in favour of the original lease offered by the old Panchayat.

On every occasion of the annual fair at the Mariamma Temple of Yelwal, the two factions pledge to work together to ensure that no untoward incident takes place on this important day. So strong has been the animosity between the factions that almost every year, this pact breaks down towards the end of the ceremonies. On the last occasion, the village head (Patel) received serious head injuries in a fight. It is significant that many in the village felt happy that the Patel had "been taught a lesson for indulging in all sorts of intrigues." Because of factional fights, it has not been possible to hold even a single meeting of the School Development Committee of Yelwal.

In this village also, younger people inspired and supported by the state youth welfare department, had managed to overthrow the old leadership in the 1978 Panchayat elections. The youth leaders belong to Vokkaliga caste, but they have managed to rout the old guard of Vokkaligas by acquiring the support of the numerically strong Servai caste members. As in Jadigenhalli, the youth group had made improvement of village roads, and construction of Janata houses for Harijans, distribution of land for the landless and more liberal supply of electricity and water to villagers, as its election plank.

Apart from internal conflicts within the Vokkaligas, there had been a steep decline in the status of Brahmins. On the other side, the Harijans have become much more assertive about their

rights. Many of the Brahmin families had to part with their lands. They claim that the money given in compensation is one-tenth to one-twentieth of the market price of the land. They allege that they are being harshly discriminated against in government employment and believe that in colleges and universities, they get poor gradings because of their caste.

There had also been a sharp change in pollution and purity practices of the Ayyangars. They now draw their drinking water along with other castes from the recently installed water supply system. They mix much more freely with others and access to their houses has been considerably liberalised. However, despite this decline and fall of Brahmins, Gopal Ayyangar still enjoys considerable respect among villagers, particularly among the Harijans.

A youth movement provides an indication of restiveness among the Harijans. A youth has replaced the old Hejman, Ramaswamy, who had earlier so adroitly played the power game to get crumbs for his flocks. The new leadership is more demanding and assertive. This might be the result of the policies of the Urs government. This government had actively encouraged the Harijans to claim their rights. The Harijan youths have clashed with their counterparts among Vokkaligas, who had started the Rama Krishna Youth Club. The Harijan youths have insisted on having a club of their own under the name of Ambedkar Youth Club. The Vokkaligas first strongly opposed the move. Later, they climbed down by conceding that the Harijans too can have a state-financed youth club of their own, but they insisted that their club could get financial help only if they changed the name to Nehru, Shastri or some other national leader. The Harijans, however, stood fast in naming it as Ambedkar Youth Club and got ready to go ahead with their project without state support. It was subsequently observed in April 1980 that the Vokkaligas had finally given in and the Ambedkar Youth Club received government grants for indoor sports and musical instruments for Bhajan parties.

It was also observed that Harijans of Yelwal had begun to express resentment against the manure dumping pits within their colonies.

Another significant change here has been a remarkable increase in the number of industrial establishments near the village. Virtually, the entire 16 km route between Mysore city and Yelwal is now lined by industrial establishments of various sizes. This provided opportunities to some residents of Yelwal, as also some belonging to Kalur, to find jobs in the industrial sector. The son of Gopal Ayyangar could not get any employment in the government or in the nearby Mysore University, even though he has a first-class Master's degree in Sociology. He alleges that this is because Brahmins are being discriminated against. He has finally managed to get a job as a clerk in a nearby tobacco factory.

Yelwal now looks more prosperous, with more brick-built houses, a larger number of telephone connections and considerable increase in the consumption of chemical fertilisers, high-yielding seeds and electrically operated tube-wells.

KALUR

The relatively small population of Kalur provided an intimate account of the way the ruling group of the village had weathered several political storms during the eight years this study lasted. The local leaders have always managed to manoeuvre in such a way as to be on the winning side.

The start of the study saw them responding to the Congress split of 1969 by throwing their lot with Congress (O) of Veerendra Patil, who was then Chief Minister of Karnataka. Overthrow of the Congress (O) government saw them supporting the Congress (R) government of Devaraj Urs. They maintained their support for it despite merger of Congress (O) with other parties to form the Janata Party and despite the latter winning an overwhelming support at the Lok Sabha elections of 1977 because they wanted to be on the side of the ruling party in the state. Not even bothering to ascertain the causes of the 1977 split in Congress(R), they unhesitatingly followed Devaraj Urs into Congress(I); this loyalty was reinforced further when the Janata party splintered twice into a number of new parties in 1980. As has been pointed out earlier, the further split of Congress(I) in 1979 saw the villagers really believing Urs' earlier contention

that all of his achievements were due to Mrs Indira Gandhi and they joined Indira Gandhi's party, the Congress(I), ignoring the pleas of Urs.

Unwittingly or otherwise, the ruling groups have totally ignored the ideological pretensions of parties ruling in the states and at the Centre. Their main concern has been to develop a "give and take" relationship with the group that happened to control the state government, so that they are able to maintain and, if possible, strengthen their position within the village.

Kalur continues to be without any transportation links, except the railways. Here too, the daily frequency had been reduced from three to two. Agricultural output has remained very low because of water scarcity. However, commissioning of the "lift irrigation" project, expected in 1981, is likely to improve the situation. Construction of the Varuna Canal was started a year back and has provided some jobs to the poor. Because of reorganisation and merger of co-operatives ordered by the state government, the office of the co-operative at Kalur has been shifted to an adjoining village. The big group of potters has remained desperately poor. They are aware of various assistance programmes of the government but have learnt from past experience not to expect any help from these. They have gone from place to place and from person to person without any benefit.

ROHAT

There have been remarkable social and political changes in Rohat during the eight years. As has been pointed out in Chapter 8, sensing the changing times, Raghvendra Singh, the local Jagirdar, had quickly donned the democratic robe and cashed in on his feudal influence over the people, to control the local Panchayat and Panchayat Samiti through elections. In due course, he also acquired the labels of the Swatantra Party, the Congress Party (before split), the Congress(O), the Congress(R), Janata, Independent, Janata (JP) and, finally, Congress of Indira Gandhi, in succession, in a bid to retain his political hold in the region. Apart from providing yet another instance of the utter fragility of ideology of national political parties as well as opportunism of those who join them,

these frequent changes in the label also provide an indication of basic changes that have taken place in the power structure of the village.

As has been pointed out earlier (Chapter 8), even during the heydays of the "Janata Wave" (1977), Raghvendra Singh was unable to collect enough support to get nominated as party candidate to the Rajasthan State Assembly. This was a clear signal to him from the trading classes that he could no longer get much mileage out of his feudal background. The fact that he had to stand for the state legislature as an Independent candidate and was completely routed revealed this. Even his own Kshatriya caste was not backing him firmly. His own protege, the Kshatriya Gram Pradhan, openly opposed him in the election to the state legislature. Raghvendra Singh's failure to retain hold over the Panchayat Samiti, his failure to mobilise support for Janata Party (JP) in the 1980 elections to Lok Sabha and to the state legislature and his ultimately joining of Congress Party (I) show the continuing decline of his influence as a feudal chieftain and a steep rise in the political influence of the trading castes. However, throughout his eight years, Raghvendra Singh remained the president of the Jodhpur branch of the Rotary Club.

The village appears to have become more prosperous during eight years. Two new banks—the Grameen Bank, Mewar and the Gram Sewa Sehkari Bank—have opened their branches in Rohat. One more petrol pump has been set up. There are four welding shops and two general shops, including one for repair of tractors and sale of spare parts. Rohat has now become the headquarters of a newly created tehsil.

The State Housing Board has built fifteen houses—all for non-Harijans, eleven of them for Baniyas. Baniyas have also bought the land near Rohat which is earmarked as an industrial area by the state government. Patels of the surrounding villages forming the Peetal Samaj (Patel Samaj) is now constructing a house at Rohat at a cost of about Rs 500,000.

The number of tractor users has increased from three in 1973 to ten in 1981. A water supply system has been set up in the village, but the water at the source turned out to be brackish.

Efforts are now being made to bring water from a canal which is located farther away.

A noteworthy change has been the sharp decline in the incidence of guinea-worm infestation. The 1979 floods may have shifted the ecological balance in favour of man by diluting the water of the disease-spreading village tank with floodwater and later washing away most of the diluted water. A greater incidence among the villagers of filtering tank water through a piece of cloth may also account for this. It is noteworthy that this habit of filtering the tank water was developed by villagers themselves; the PHC staff had nothing to do with it.

Some of the Muslims have become quite prosperous because of steep increase in the price of goats. Most of the Muslims, however, continue to remain very poor, eking out existence as petty artisans.

Rohat was facing famine conditions again (in March 1981). The crop had failed almost completely. Many people have left Rohat to look for jobs. Road construction as part of famine relief works has been started. They work in groups and receive their share of wages at the rate of seven rupees per 125 cu.ft. of earth moved. A very significant finding was that the people prefer such collective work on famine relief projects to Food for Work Programme. The reasons given for not liking the Food for Work Programme are:

- i. The quality of wheat supplied was bad.
- ii. There was corruption, including underweighing.
- iii. There was more rice and less wheat.
- iv. Payments were not made on time.
- v. It involved long waiting in queues.

This experience of Rohat (as also of Rampura) contrasts sharply with what was described for the four West Bengal villages and again underlines the differences in the social and political systems of the two states.

A significant increase in the resentment among non-Harijans against the special privileges for Harijans and a more open display of this has been another significant finding of the March 1981 revisit. This feeling has spread from the Gujarat

Movement and complaints are also on the same lines — reservations and special benefits should be based on economic criteria and not on caste criteria and that most of the benefits meant for the Harijans anyway go to a few who are affluent among them. The Rajasthan Chief Minister, who is a Harijan and is perceived as inefficient, appears to have compounded the resentment of non-Harijans against Harijans. They also point out that the District Magistrate of Pali has got that job because he is a Harijan. They ask why his child should get all the benefits while there are hundreds and thousands of other non-Harijan children who are more needy. Unlike in Rupal, there is not much of a counter response from the Harijan population. They are not that assertive in Rohat nor are they organised even to that extent.

Nobody from Rohat or Rampura had participated in any of the two Kisan rallies. The Antyodaya programme has completely disappeared.

RAMPURA

Consumption of opium in groups has continued to be an important socially accepted institution in Rampura. There is now even a demand that this should be regularised and they should get licence to buy opium at a low price! Villagers have also been quite overtly making illicit liquor from *Gur* and *Mahua* flowers. The 1979 floods had badly affected this village and spoilt agricultural land. The village as a whole was not involved in the flood relief measures, though individual households did receive cash grants of Rs. 300 for reconstruction of their houses.

This village has now been electrified. The number of tractors has increased from three in 1973 to six in 1975 to nine in 1981. Also, responding to the pressure generated by a section of the village population, which included many "medium" farmers, as many as 14 families have been allotted pieces of Government land and six families have been identified by the villagers for receiving old-age pension of Rs 40 to Rs 50. The village grazing land, which was earlier a major cause of conflict in the village, has been taken away from the individual rich farmer and placed under a trust constituted of village elders. That even in this

relatively remote village, there has been a strong reaction against forced sterilisation is revealed by the fact that when a prominent villager, belonging to the Chowdhary caste, who had been a life-long Congressman, wanted to remain loyal to the Congress (R) in the 1977 elections, his wife openly revolted against him and voted for the Janata. She could not forgive Congress (R) for forcibly sterilising people in her village.

RUPAL

Mention had earlier been made (Chapter 7) of how Harijans had become better organised and managed to get a better deal for themselves in this village. Several other weaker segments of the population had also become more assertive about their rights. The consequent changes in the balance of power has brought about a dramatic change in the village leadership. In Chapter 8, the description of the local feudal chieftain, Jaswant Singh (the self-proclaimed "Raja of Rupal") was given to underline the utter decay and degeneration of the old feudal order. Extravagant habits, including an almost pathetic attachment to feudal pomp and show, addiction to alcohol and idleness had made him heavily indebted to village moneylenders to become an object of ridicule among the villagers. However, as result of the change in social equilibrium, when Panchayat elections were held in 1976, the Brahmins and Kshatriyas mobilised the support of the Harijans, Muslims and some other socially backward groups. In this way they managed to overthrow the old leadership. The old "Raja of Rupal" was brought back from oblivion as the leader of the Kshatriya group and ultimately chosen to head the village Panchayat. This amazing resurrection of the long forgotten old "Raja of Rupal" as the democratically elected Gram Pradhan is in fact a reflection of the many significant social changes that had taken place in Rupal during the past decade or so. Elevation to the status of the Gram Pradhan offered Thakur Jaswant Singh opportunities of making money and he could also use his office to revive some of the feudal practices ostensibly to provide "dignity" to this office. However, the new Panchayat could not do anything significant to improve the village. Thakur Jaswant Singh had contracted tuberculosis, presumably because of over-indulgence

in alcohol. True to his feudal upbringing, he considered it beneath his dignity to avail of the treatment facilities at the District Tuberculosis Centre at Himmatnagar. Instead, he obtained anti-tuberculosis injections "privately" from an employee of the PHC. Apparently, his disease was much too advanced and complicated. He died in May 1980.

The fact that despite all his degeneration, Thakur Jaswant Singh had considerable political weight became evident from the events that followed his death. This time, once again, the Banias were backed by Patels. When they fielded their candidate (Babulal Shah) for the by-election to Rupal Gram Panchayat all the other five candidates, who had filed their nomination, did not feel it worthwhile to oppose him and he was elected unopposed.

It is also significant that in the elections to Lok Sabha and the state legislature, outside opinions had influenced electoral behaviour in the village. One group pointed out that the statement of the Chief of the RSS, Deoras, in 1977, to the effect that RSS would capture power in the next ten years had adversely affected the interests of the Janata candidate. Similarly, shifts in the support of the Shahi Imam of the Jama Masjid, Delhi, was considered to be significant in swinging Muslim votes of Rupal from one party to another.

Nobody from Rupal had gone for either of the Kisan rallies held in Delhi (15 February 1981 and 26 March 1981). They are all followers of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

As has been pointed out in Chapter 9 data on caste and class relation in Rupal provide insights into the widespread, protracted and violent Anti-Reservation Movement of Gujarat, which has already (April 1981) caused extensive loss of life and property in the state. During the first round of study in Rupal (1974), it was noted that while Harijans were not socially discriminated against in public institutions, practice of discrimination against them was widespread in private interactions with them (Chapter 6). It was also observed that among Harijans, the socially "superior" Bunkar (Chamars) also practised social discrimination against the Bhangis. The Bunkars had utilised the Emergency conditions (in 1975-76) to force many sections of the village community to concede to them

(i.e. the Harijans) some of their legal rights and this had created strong resentment among other sections in the village.

The Gujarat Anti-Reservation Movement appears to be a macro manifestation of what was observed at a micro level in Rupal. The tensions that were observed in Rupal against what is perceived by non-Harijans as totally unjustified special privileges of Harijans, found cumulative manifestation at the state level in the form of the explosive Anti-Reservation Movement, with its repercussions throughout the country, particularly in the adjoining states of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The district town of Sabarkantha, Himmatnagar, observed a "bandh" on this issue on 21 February 1981, and in the violence that accompanied the bandh, four government jeeps and one state-owned passenger bus were set on fire. Till 24 March when Rupal was revisited, there has been no incident against Harijans, though the investigator noticed a significant rise in open tension between Harijan and non-Harijan groups. While not mentioning physical atrocities of non-Harijans against Harijans, the former group felt that policemen, particularly pro-Harijan policemen from outside, including the Saurashtra Reserve Police, have been deliberately committing brutal atrocities against non-Harijans.

In terms of specific action, non-Harijans of Rupal joined others from outside in staging a demonstration within the village, which culminated in the burning of the effigy of the Chief Minister of Gujarat. Activists within the village—including two non-Harijan employees of the PHC at Rupal launched a funds collection campaign for the Movement. The schools remained closed for all these days on orders of the state government. The Bunkar Harijans justify the special privileges for Harijans on social criteria because they say even the well-off Harijans suffer from social discrimination and if economic criteria are employed, because of social discrimination against Harijans and because of corruption, the Harijan's case would remain neglected.

Economic life of Rupal continues to be controlled by the Banias. Many of them have relatives with prosperous business establishments in Bombay. This has brought increasing prosperity to Rupal. It has also increased the political strength of

the Banias. There were no telephones in Rupal in 1973. Now it has eleven telephones. Apart from the PHC and the Sabarkantha Bank, nine others (eight Banias and one Muslim) have installed telephones in their homes. A larger number of houses now have electricity. A water supply system had been established. This, however, had not been working well because of erratic supply of electricity. Interestingly, seven households—all Banias—have installed small motors within their houses to draw water directly from village wells. In the 1981 revisit, it was observed that the water supply system had considerably improved. There was only one tractor in Rupal in 1973. By 1981 the number increased to three. While there was only one diesel pump and no electric pump in 1973, in 1981 there were 30 diesel and fifteen electric pumps.

A dam is being constructed near the village to prevent soil erosion and to get some water for irrigation. A branch of the Sabarkantha District Development Bank has also been opened in Rupal. The Khadi and Gram Udyog Commission has opened a Charkha Kendra, where 40 persons—all non-Harijans—earn through Charkha-spinning.

During the eight years, Rupal has become even more distinctive in having a wide network of voluntary organisations. The Yuvak Mandal (Youth Club) continues its social work within the village and collects funds by organising cinema shows and other such activities. The Rupal Gram Vikas Samiti (village development committee) had regularly been paying the PHC a sum of Rs 500 per month for buying medicine. It organised a "Spectacles Camp" in 1978. An optician had been specially invited from Bombay for this. About 500 persons were given spectacles free of cost. Some of the rich in Rupal also contributed generously for holding an "Eye Camp" at Himmatnagar, where as many as 3,000 people received attention. Earlier, in 1975, an organisation calling itself "Sad Vichar Samiti" and a trust from Bombay, Vansali Trust, had organised another "Eye Operation Camp", where over 1,500 persons were operated on. The cost of running this camp alone was over Rs 1,50,000. Besides these, voluntary agencies run a high school (since 1957), a library, a Bal Mandir for pre-school children (since 1962) and a Mahila Mandal (since 1963) for training women. Attendance

at the Mahila Mandal has increased from 22 in 1977 to 50 in 1981. There is now a trained teacher for the Bal Mandir, where the attendance of pre-school children (3-5 years) has gone up from 20 in 1978 to 70 in 1981. From 1975 another voluntary organisation started operating an "Adivasi Chatravas" (hostel for tribal students). In 1957, the rich from Rupal contributed over Rs 60,000 for building the school; they had also paid Rs 16,000 for the construction of the PHC building. All these institutions receive heavy subsidies from the state government. However, it goes to the credit of these organisations that the institutions run by them are reasonably well-managed—indeed much better managed than government institutions. In addition, Rupal also has three Hindu religious organizations: "Jhaanjhari Mata Aarati Mandal", "Krishna Premi Mandal" and "Sanatan Bhajan Mandal". With the help of data from the visits to Rupal, it is possible to identify five factors which distinguish the voluntary organizations in this village from those in other villages:

Almost the entire cost of running these organisations is met by the richer sections of the population, particularly those who have business connections in Bombay. They are mostly Banias, though the richest man in Rupal—the owner of a thriving tailoring establishment in Bombay—happens to be from a backward caste.

Enquiries about the donors made it quite apparent that most of the donations came from "anonymous persons", who donated money from "unaccounted funds," ostensibly, to earn some *punya* (virtue).

Although a large number of people (particularly from the "upper" and "middle" classes) participate in these organisations, none of these organisations is involved in political activities, even at the time of elections.

Many of these voluntary organisations are entitled to receive considerable subsidies from the state government under the latter's various development schemes.

Those who control the organisations mostly manage them quite well, often much better than government organisations.

GAMBHOI

In this village also the Kshatriyas have managed to capture the Panchayat from the numerically stronger Thakkaras by manipulating to extend the Panchayat electorate to include two surrounding villages which have a larger number of Kshatriyas.

Following the construction of a National Highway, Gambhoi has been transformed from a small sleepy village to an important transport junction. Increase in transportation activities has in turn increased the prosperity of the village. There are now many more shops, including a tyre repair shop, an automobile spare parts shop and several "hotels" (snack bars) for bus passengers. With opening of the telephone exchange, Gambhoi now has six telephones. A police station has recently been established here. Electricity was brought in 1980. The village got its first tractor in 1976. It has in addition, now fifteen diesel and four electrically operated pumps. A number of workshops and factories have also been set up. A factory manufacturing steel chairs and another manufacturing cement pipes for agricultural work are now providing employment to villagers. There are also four units manufacturing agricultural implements.

Attracted by job opportunities, a group of Ghumkarroo tribals from an interior village is trying to settle down in Gambhoi. This is strongly resented by the Panchayat and it is making strenuous efforts to get them removed from the village. These tribals, both men and women, are a source of cheap labour to the factories and workshops and other "work" contractors. Tribal men and women have been observed to be working from early morning till late at night on a miserably low wage. Such conditions disturb the wage structure of the entire village.

ARNAVALI

Changes observed in Arnavali during this period are of considerable significance. There had been a violent confrontation between Jat landlords and Chamar landless labourers; there are very definite signs of restiveness among the big landholders about what they call unremunerative prices for agricultural commodities; there is still stronger evidence that the Chamars

ignore the interests of Bhangis and often oppress them as much as they themselves are oppressed by upper castes; Brahmins and Chamars have continued their alliance, though there are indications of increasing internal tensions within these two groups.

As had been pointed out earlier (Chapter 8), the violent confrontation between Jat landlords and Chamars (Jatao group of Chamars) was precipitated as a political fallout of the Emergency excesses and subsequent Janata landslide victories in 1977 elections. While the Jats felt triumphant at their victory, the Chamars got politicised enough in the political process to fight and retain their past gains against onslaughts by the Jats. Their numerically stronger position emboldened them further. This confrontation led, on the one hand, to a wider alliance among Jats of surrounding villages to physically assault and intimidate the Chamars and economically boycott them. On the other, this also saw an open support to the Chamars from the economically and politically strong Brahmins. This also saw the Lohia Socialist Jat leader, Promode Bharati, taking an unequivocal stand in favour of the persecuted Chamars even at the risk of his own safety and safety of his family and property. The confrontation ended with loss on both sides. A substantial number of Chamars had to leave the village to seek jobs elsewhere, more particularly in the cities of Meerut and Delhi. The Jat landlords had to suffer the mortification of taking back the Chamars to work in their fields on the same terms that they had so firmly opposed earlier.

Death of the Panchayat Pradhan in 1975 had precipitated a major political crisis in the village. According to the law, he was succeeded by his deputy, Ram Ratan, who is a Chamar. There were four Chamars, one Kumhar, two Jats and two Brahmins in the Panchayat. Both the Jats and the Brahmins considered it very humiliating to have a Chamar as their Gram Pradhan. They refused to attend Panchayat meetings, because, following tradition, these meetings were held in the house of the Pradhan. The acting Pradhan went to the houses of the Jat and Brahmin Panchayat members to brief them about Panchayat meetings and to receive their "instructions". The Jats and the Brahmins became even more impatient with Ram Ratan when they found that he was spending Panchayat resources to

improve civic amenities in Chamar localities. Ram Ratan himself started to do manual work to mobilise Chamars for voluntary labour to improve roads and drainage in their locality. He also used Panchayat resources to obtain additional land for keeping cattle belonging to Chamars. What turned out to be the last straw was Ram Ratan issuing notice to sixteen Jats to vacate the Panchayat land which the Jats had allegedly been occupying illegally. The Jats and Brahmins redoubled their efforts to win over a few Chamar Panchayat members to their side, using various types of threats and temptations. They also pleaded that Ram Ratan was incapable of looking after government officials from outside and this was a serious blot on the entire village. Ultimately, despite all the exhortations of Ram Ratan to the Chamar members of the Panchayat to maintain unity and solidarity, the Jats and Brahmins succeeded in winning over some Chamar members. With this they could pass a vote of no confidence on Ram Ratan. In his place, they installed a Jat, Bhagat Singh as the new Pradhan. Ram Ratan fought back and challenged the legality of the Panchayat. This cost him as much as Rs 1,200 but he was unable to reverse the decision.

This case report once again underlines the fact that when class interests are threatened, even bitter enemies come together to counter the common threat.

In 1980, Promode Bharati forcefully articulated the grievances of the rich farmers, "Do we get the same degree of returns from our capital [the land] as others get from their industries?" he asked. He went on, "We would be satisfied if the government gives us a return of even five per cent and pays us the salary of a clerk or even of a peon for all the labour we put in." An interesting finding was the Bharati couple, who had hitherto been powerful champions of a small family norm and who had limited their own family only to a boy and girl, now changed their mind and deliberately went for a third child to have "more hands for our fields."

During the March 1981 revisit it was found that Promode Bharati had become a field officer of Peerless General Finance and Investment Company Limited and had such a good business that he was constantly on the move to clear the March-end

rush of work. His wife also helps him in this business. They now have rented a house of their own in Meerut city (and not Bharati's father's place) and the children go to their schools from there. Presumably through contacts with his wife's family, which lives in Bijnor district, Bharati is also thinking of buying another farm in that district.

While the Chamars have managed to improve their position by migrating and by getting a better deal from landlords, the plight of the Bhangis has worsened still further. They are getting no assistance, political or social or economic, from the government as most of the resources given as assistance to Harijans had been usurped by the more vocal, organised and socially superior Chamars. This intra-Harijan exploitation and oppression is of considerable significance. The Bhangis cannot rear any cattle as they have no grazing facilities. They cannot raise pigs as they do not have enough space even for their residence. Husbands and wives are compelled to share very cramped accommodation in miserable huts with their grown-up children and old parents. The house sites for Harijans have all gone to the "superior" Chamars. The Bhangis feel so overwhelmed by the odds against them that, unlike the Chamars, they cannot identify the forces which have been the cause of their plight. They only plead that somehow they should get more employment in the fields and better payment, in kind, for the "unclean" (scavenging) jobs that are traditionally assigned to them.

Data from the revisits also revealed that even though Chamars had aligned with Brahmins to get political and economic protection, lately, presumably because of increase in the militancy among the Chamars, there had been a perceptible increase in tension between the two groups with increasing number of clashes. In one instance, the son of a prominent Brahmin landowner had inflicted bloody injuries on a Harijan girl for alleged trespass into his field and theft. This caused a major uproar among Chamars. To pacify them, the Brahmin brought his son before a concourse of Chamars, declared him guilty and, as punishment, asked the Chamars to beat him "as much as they liked." The Chamars responded by belabouring the boy pretty thoroughly. As if that was not enough, they

also lodged a report at the local police station, alleging atrocities against a Harijan. This caused deep resentment among Brahmins. "The Chamars will remain Chamars. It is wrong on our part to expect otherwise," was the confidential comment of a Brahmin to the investigator.

The eight years also saw significant changes in the village. Promode Bharati is now joined by three other persons—all Jats—who own television sets. Bharati and another rich landlord have set up Gobar Gas plants in their houses. Each plant costs about Rs 4,000. The government offered Rs 1,000 as grant and the rest was given as a loan. However, only the rich could avail of this offer, because others have neither the land nor the cattle to give the dung needed for the plant. Many more houses have obtained electricity. A rice mill has been set up in Arnavali by a Brahmin.

Corruption and nepotism in the running of the high school (Chapter 4) has become even more blatant and scandalous. However, significantly, there has been much greater enthusiasm among Chamars to go to school. They now know that education will enable them to get the reserved Harijan jobs in cities. One Chamar boy from the school has obtained admission to the Medical College at Meerut. As has been pointed out in Chapter 9, in the course of the latest visit it was found that after graduating from the Medical College, this boy obtained a state government job and is posted in Allahabad. Another boy from the same family has also been able to get admission to a medical college, this time at Kanpur. It was also found that the boys belong to a well-to-do family, owning considerable irrigated land, which has availed of the Harijan job reservation facilities to get good jobs in police and telephone departments.

On the other hand, the Jats are having increasing difficulties in finding jobs in cities. Because of very high rates of unemployment, they are getting disillusioned with education. They are saying: "What is the use of going to school, if we cannot get jobs? We do not need education to work in our fields."

A Brahmin teacher of the school observed that Bhangis do not send their children to the school. According to him, they have "weak brains" and are incapable of learning. The Bhangis

are still being forced to put up with the nuisance resulting from the dumping of animal wastes in the manure pits located within their colony.

As against two in 1973, the village had four tractors and twenty tube-wells in June 1980. During the latest visit (March 1981), the number of tractors had gone up to seven.

ROHOTA

In contrast to Arnavali the proportion of Chamars in Rohota is much smaller. Further, as a substantial number of them are engaged in leather work, the proportion of those Chamars engaged in agriculture (Jataos) is smaller still. Because of this there had not been any direct confrontation between Jats and Chamars in Rohota even though tension between them had increased over the years. Presumably because of the respect he commands in the village, Krishna Kumar, a Brahmin, continues to have a firm control over the village Panchayat. Restoration of Congress(I) governments both at the state as well as at the Centre has further strengthened his position.

The plight of the Bhangis in Rohota is as bad as in Arnavali. Chamars have continued to resist all their efforts to take possession of the four newly constructed houses allotted to them under the Harijan Housing Scheme. The Bhangis are also denied many other facilities made available under various welfare schemes.

Economic status of the Chamar community has shown some distinct signs of improvement. Tanning and shoe-making has become more lucrative. A glue-making factory has also been established for them in the co-operative sector and it has already become an economically viable venture. Many Chamars have relatives who have found government employment in Meerut city and Delhi under the Harijan job reservation scheme. Chamars now look better dressed. Many young people, who have developed contacts with cities, were seen wearing fashionable clothes, footwear and long, well-groomed hair. Chamars have built a big new temple, which also serves as a convenient gathering place for them. Such gatherings have been used to mobilise their community for more effective struggle for

rights and privileges. These gatherings have now given shape to a new organisation of Chamars—Harijan Milan Kendra.

During the first round of the study, there was no television in Rohota. Now there are four sets. One belongs to the Panchayat and is installed in the house of the Pradhan. Two sets are in Jat households; another is owned by one of the doctors of the PHC. During the March 1981 revisit, the village had acquired a fifth television set that came as part of the dowry of the bride of Ram Lal Sharma's son. Ram Lal Sharma is a telephone operator and owns considerable land. A branch of the Syndicate Bank has now been opened in Rohota. A new building has also come up for housing both the bank and the Post Office. Both of them are located virtually within the compound of Pradhan Krishna Kumar's house. Recently, a branch of the Corporation Savings Bank and a fair price shop under the co-operative sector have been established in Rohota.

As in the case of Arnavali, there are now many tractors and tube-wells in Rohota. In 1973, there were only fourteen tractors. The number has now swelled to over 50. During the same period, the number of tube-wells has gone up from about twenty to over 100. Between the two last revisits (June 1980 and March 1981), the village has acquired three tube-wells and four tractors.

The scheme of the Fertiliser Corporation of India for supplying fertilisers and high-yielding seeds has now been extended to the "R" block, which includes Rohota and Arnavali.

While the rich farmers in all three Green Revolution villages—Rohota, Arnavali and Bilaspur—are very happy with the rise in price of sugarcane and grains, they have nevertheless, stepped up their agitation to get "remunerative prices" for their produce. The demand to "Make Farming Equal to Industry or Quit Office" is now being written on walls in bold letters in Hindi. The movement has also become quite complicated. Brahmins and Harijans joined the 15 February 1981 Kisan Rally of Congress (I) in large numbers while the Jats remained aloof as the rally did not have the backing of Charan Singh. Similarly, as Charan Singh also disapproved of the 26 March 1981 Kisan Rally of the Left Front, it did not evoke much response from the villagers.

The March 1981 revisit revealed that the Jamait-e-Islami has opened a new Madrassa in Rohota for education in Urdu and for religious education of Muslims. Two saw mills have also been started by two well-off Muslim families of the village.

The March 1981 revisit to Rohota revealed a very rapid deterioration in the law and order situation. People feel very insecure. A few days before the visit there had been a dacoity in Majra village, only a kilometre away from Rohota. A few days earlier, there was a dacoity in another village, Salapur, close to Majra. On both occasions the victims were well-off Chamars.

BILASPUR

Bilaspur shared with Arnavali and Rohota the bounty of the Green Revolution. Farmers were happy about the 1980 price of sugarcane crop. While economic condition of the Chamar agricultural labourers (Jataos) remained bad, the condition of the Bhangis was relatively better here than in Arnavali and Rohota. The Bhangis are able to raise goats as there are grazing facilities; they also raise pigs and poultry. Besides they get *rotis* and *dal* or *subzi* from farmer households in return for the traditional scavenging services.

Activities of the Arya Samaj have significantly increased in the surrounding villages and in the nearby "Gurukul". A San-yasi, who was a former Tehsildar, has started to stay in a hut in the nearby forest. Apart from propagating the doctrine of Arya Samaj, he gives free tuition to children who study at the village school. A big Arya Samaj Conference was held at Bilaspur in December 1980. Many eminent Arya Samaj monks participated and there were many discourses and religious songs. In 1973, Bilaspur had only one tractor, two cane crushers and about 30 tube-wells. In March 1981, there were eight tractors, three crushers and 35 tube-wells.

The condition of the village school had not improved. After a lapse of all these years, there was not a single student found to be adequately clad for the severe winter. This provides an index of the economic status of the village as a whole. In spite of the Green Revolution, farmers have not been able to meet some of their very elementary needs. This, incidentally, lends

considerable weightage to the oft-repeated grievances of the so-called affluent farmers of Bilaspur as was also the case in Arnavali and Rohota that they do not get a fair return either from their capital or from their labour.

While mainly Brahmins went for the 15 February 1981 Kisan Rally, the Jats have participated very actively in the 26 March rally, presumably under the leadership of the Haryana Jat leader, Devi Lal, who was one of the main organisers.

KACHHONA

During the eight years of our study many more shops and houses have come into existence in Kachhona. Three rice mills, one oil mill and five brick kilns have been set up. Because of the increasing importance of Kachhona as a market centre in the region, it has been recognised as a town and as a result a Notified Area Committee has been set up to administer it, replacing the old Panchayat. However, no elections have been held to the Committee. It is being administered by a government-appointed administrator.

The Bantias have become more prosperous and exert a firmer political grip over Chamars and other economically backward castes. They own four of the five brick kilns and four of them also own trucks. Economic conditions of the rest have remained virtually unchanged. The drain containing human and animal wastes from the Bania and other upper caste households situated at higher elevations (Chapter 4) continues to take the circuitous way through the Chamar colony which remains a slushy swamp during the rainy season.

The high school had been upgraded into an intermediate college in 1974. Recently, it began offering facilities for education in Urdu.

Kachhona reflected also its political affiliations in relation to the Kisan Rally. A small group consisting of Chamars, Pasis and Brahmins went for the 15 February 1981 rally but there was no response to the 26 March rally. Towards March-end hectic preparations were being made for a massive BJP sponsored Kisan Rally at Lucknow on 6 April 1981. Like the other two rallies, the 6 April rally too was a great success. The Harijan BJP

Member of Legislative Assembly of U.P. has defected to the Congress (I) Party. A Brahmin has opened a Youth Congress (I) branch at Kachhona. The participation of Harijans in this party has been very lukewarm.

Even though the Chamar caste Panchayat is still active and on occasions of births, marriages and deaths the cost of giving feasts continues to make many Chamars dependent on Bania moneylenders, there has been a very significant slackening in the observation of these practices and rituals. As it has become more difficult to enforce caste sanctions, these sanctions do not carry the same weight with the Chamars. They now have greater links with Hardoi and Lucknow; some of them have managed to get jobs in cities from the reserved quota. While others have now mustered enough courage to defy caste sanctions which they consider to be unfair, unjust or simply inconvenient to them. Their defiance has, in turn, emboldened other Chamars of the village to challenge the authority of the caste Panchayat.

While the bulk of the Muslims continue to live a precarious existence, there has been significant improvement in the economic conditions of the richer families. Apart from having his landed property, houses and shops, Mohommad Hashim, the richest among them, has now built up a road transport business. He owns a brick kiln, a jeep and a number of trucks. Two Muslim lads from Kachhona have become graduates and found clerical jobs in cities. The prosperity among the Muslims has also improved the condition of the two village mosques. A new Madrassa under the name of "Maqtab" was established in 1981.

SUNNI

This almost exclusively agricultural village appears to have become poorer still. That might be one reason why many villagers enrolled themselves in the State Home Guards so as to earn something whenever they are called up for duties. Interestingly, Sunni had also acquired notoriety because it was branded as a law and order problem by the police. It has no tractor and no tube-well. None from this village participated in any Kisan rally. Many of the houses have been raided by dacoits and many of the villagers are suspected to be outlaws. Because of this

bad reputation, villagers, more particularly Brahmins, have difficulty in finding matches for their sons and daughters outside Sunni.

PULLAMBADI

There has been considerable expansion of employment opportunities in the industrial sector. Villagers have found more jobs in the new industrial units that have sprung up in nearby Dalmianagar and other urban areas. A number of small manufacturing units have also come into existence within the village itself. As in the case of Yelwal, Jadigenhalli, Kalur and Kachhona, this increasing number of industrial workers within the village has markedly eroded the hold of the traditional village and caste leaders. Harijans have now become more assertive showing resentment against location of manure pits in their colony and the village tank overflowing into their locality during the rainy season. They are more vocal in their complaints against unfair distribution of water from the village water supply system, which remains irregular because of erratic supply of electricity and poor maintenance.

The Christian churches continue to have considerable influence in the village through their control over the Christians and through institutions like the Sahayamata Hospital, schools, orphanage and distribution of CARE milk and other commodities obtained through overseas Christian-aid organisations. The Catholic Church has continued to adhere strictly to segregation of Harijan Christians. The Catholics also continue their custom of marrying within their "caste". The Church has also completed the building of the housing colony for 'Harijan' Christians. These 'Harijan' Christians are given a separate church, which is located within their colony and they continue to be overtly discriminated against when special religious programmes are held at the old St. Anthony's Church. Some reformist "upper caste" Christians (including the "Ayyangar" physician of Sahayamata Hospital) had started a campaign against this and against "caste" endogamy and segregation practices among Christians. However, the "silent" majority, which controls the Church, has thus far succeeded in thwarting these efforts.

Conclusions

It is contended that, in a community, perception of a health problem, meaning of the state of health and disease, response to various institutions that exist for dealing with these health problems, all form an integrated, interdependent and interacting whole. It is a sub-cultural complex which can be termed as the health culture of the community. As any other aspect of culture, health culture of a community is influenced by diffusion from other health cultures. In this context, implementation of government health programmes in a community can be considered as purposive interventions into the existing health culture of that community, with the object of bringing about a desired change in that (pre-existing) health culture. Further, as health culture of the community is in fact a sub-culture of the overall culture of the community—the overall way of life, it is intimately linked with changes in the overall culture that are mediated by various social, economic and political forces.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this study is that its entire methodological edifice is built around this integrated and broad-based concept of health culture. This concept has determined the range and the depth of the data that are required to be collected, the techniques and tools to be used, the selection of the population for the study and the decision to provide a time dimension to some of the key findings.

Two consequences flow from the approach adopted for the study. First, it breaks the barriers of individual disciplines which not only create obstructions to acquiring a proper understanding of a problem but play a downright negative role by giving a distorted and at times highly slanted picture of the problem. The second consequence flows from the first. Breaking of barriers of individual disciplines makes it all the more

necessary to be very selective in data collection: only the data which have a bearing on the study problem should be collected.

The major findings of this study are summarised in the following sequence:

- i. Findings on some additional dimensions of poverty in rural India;
- ii. Power structure in relation to class, caste and religion;
- iii. Leadership, and social and economic control;
- iv. Social, economic and political implications of population growth; and
- v. Dynamics of social change in the villages in the context of the social and economic relations within individual villages, in the context of a time dimension and in the context of wider changes that had taken place at the national level during this period.

A host of scholars have written about poverty in India.¹ For this study too it was necessary to obtain quantitative data on prevalence of poverty in the study population. But for this purpose poverty was measured in terms of different criteria (e.g. those who do not get enough to eat all round the year, those who are landless and are not engaged in service or trade, or those who are Harijans). Data on these criteria were also correlated with various parameters. This correlation imparted considerable depth to the data. With this correlation it has also been possible to relate the special privileges that are offered to Harijans on the question of dealing with the problem of poverty in India.

Additionally, with the help of qualitative data, it has been possible to understand:

- i. The forces that generate poverty in rural populations;
- ii. Biological implications of generation of poverty in terms of struggle for existence put up by the affected people, in terms of biological and nutritional consequences of hunger and deprivation and in terms of the entire life cycle of the affected people; and
- iii. How, in turn, these biological consequences of poverty influence social life of the affected people.

¹See references at the end of this chapter.

Detailed portraits of poverty have been drawn up to provide a more intimate meaning to poverty in concrete real life situations faced by individual families like that of Suryakanta Mukherjee. The fact that an overwhelming majority of the population will be called "poor" if definition of poverty is changed merely to include those who do not get two square wholesome meals all the year round and those who do not have very elementary facilities of housing, potable water supply and sanitation, underlines the degree of poverty and deprivation among populations in rural India.

The institution of caste is studied not just within the traditional boundaries of purity and pollution rituals and hierarchical positions. It is also studied in terms of class and the forces which determine the class structure of a population. Among the castes, despite pronounced village to village variation, Harijans stand out very sharply as the main victims of caste discrimination by other castes. However, field data have revealed that when purity/pollution rituals come in conflict with class interests, most often the class interests prevail. Interestingly, it is within the Harijans themselves (e.g. Chamars and Bhangis), where there is no conflict of class interests, social discrimination is practised in a much more pronounced manner. The fact that despite twelve decades of proselyting by Catholic missionaries, even the third generation of Catholic converts continue to practise a very rigid form of "caste" discrimination among themselves, also underlines interplay of factors other than Hindu caste rituals concerning purity and pollution. Again, if caste is responsible for sharp social stratification among Hindus, then one would have expected at least a less pronounced stratification among the Muslims within the study population. This was not found to be the case.

At least compared to Harijans, the non-Harijan and other castes do not suffer as much social discrimination. Among them caste affiliation is used as an instrument for gaining political and economic power.

The highly complicated interaction among various factors which influence economic power, class, caste and religion, determines the nature of the political system within a population, the leadership structure and the various mechanisms used for

enforcing social and economic control. This interaction forms an equilibrium which is not only dynamic, but also very fragile and unstable. Because of this, the social and economic equation which gives shape to a political system within rural populations, is neither stable nor strong. Extensive prevalence of acute poverty, exploitation of one class by another, relentless pressure of rapidly growing population, failure to effectively implement many of the promised social and economic programmes, restiveness within the exploiting groups are some of the major factors which make the equilibrium so unstable and fragile. Frequently this equilibrium is forced to realign itself to changes in the distribution of power within different groups.

With a doubling of population in the past thirty years and with a growth rate of 24.75 per cent for 1971-81,² growth of population is a major factor in determining social change in India. Growth of population has brought about two types of changes. By increasing unemployment and poverty, by creating greater scarcity of essential goods and services, population growth has posed a major challenge to the stability of the existing system. The family planning programme was the response to this problem by those who felt most threatened—the privileged classes. Apparently because this programme was not combined with programmes for improvement of other aspects of their lives, the response of the underprivileged classes was not adequate. Because of this the privileged classes have gone on escalating coercive measures, till they culminated in the use of naked force to sterilise nine million people against their will. It was in effect a class war: a declaration of 'war' against the underprivileged. As this move did not succeed and the population is still growing, the sheer compulsions generated by demographic conditions will force the privileged classes to bring about a major shift in the allocation of resources to improve the living conditions of the underprivileged to create a norm of the small family. Unwittingly or otherwise, population growth thus becomes an ultimate weapon in the hands of the underprivileged to wrest a better deal from the privileged classes.

It was observed in the first round of the study that the equilibrium between different forces which maintain the village

²Census of India, *Provisional Population Totals, 1981*.

life was very fragile and unstable. Because of conflicts and contradictions, there has been a sustained pressure for change from within. This ferment has increased considerably due to the major social and political upheavals and convulsions at the national level that have taken place in recent years. It so happened that these upheavals were heralded in Gujarat by the Navnirman Samiti movement in the course of the study, which ended with another movement in Gujarat—the Anti-Reservation movement, with spillover to Rajasthan. Complex factors have influenced the nature, degree and the pace of the change in the study villages. The change has been most far-reaching in the villages of West Bengal and Kerala. Apparently because such changes pose a threat to the privileged classes, concerted attempts are being made to stifle them by starving the population out of resources, by disturbing peace to “create” law and order problems, or throwing all democratic pretensions to the winds by dismissing the state governments.

References

- ¹V.M. Dandekar and N. Rath, *Poverty in India*, Poona, Indian School of Political Economy, 1971.
- ²Government of India, *Draft Sixth Five Year Plan* (Revised), New Delhi, Planning Commission, 1979, p. 4.
- ³V.M. Rao, “Dilemma of Poverty,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 33, Nos. 4-5, 1978, pp. 137-41.
- ⁴V.M. Dandekar, “Below the Poverty Line,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 14, Nos. 7-8, Annual, 1979, pp. 233-36.
- ⁵P.K. Bardhan, “On the Incidence of Poverty in Rural India in the Sixties,” *Sankhya*, vol. 36, Series C, Parts 2 and 4, 1974.
- ⁶P.K. Bardhan, “On the Incidence of Poverty in Rural India,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 8, Nos. 4-5, Annual, 1973, pp. 245-54.
- ⁷P.C. Joshi, “Perspectives on Poverty and Social Change: The Emergence of the Poor as a Class,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 14, Nos. 7-8, Annual, 1979, pp. 355-66.
- ⁸S. Dasgupta and S. Sarkar, “Problems of Rural Poverty: A Sociological Exposure,” *Economic Studies*, vol. 21, No. 1, 1980, pp. 33-47.
- ⁹S. Balakrishna and P.K. Ghosh, “Poverty Line Re-defined and Confirmed,” *Behavioural Sciences and Rural Development*, vol. 3, No. 1, 1980. (Reprint)
- ¹⁰S. Balakrishna, “Incidence of Rural Poverty in Recent Years,” *Behavioural Science and Rural Development*, vol. 3, No. 1, 1980. (Reprint)

CHAPTER TWELVE

Implications of the Study

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES IN INDIA

This study calls into question some critical aspects of conventional wisdom in the field of social sciences and in the fields of its specializations dealing with health issues—e.g. Medical Sociology and Medical Anthropology. It does not start with an invocation to the Western demi-gods, nor does it pay obeisance to their Indian high priests, and the ultra orthodox may still accuse the author of heresy and sacrilege.

A recent publication by I.P. Desai is of help in putting the present study within a perspective of social sciences in India. In what he has described as a “historical and autobiographical” case study of sociological research in India, Desai has described himself as a second generation sociologist, as opposed to the first generation which has been branded by some as “social philosophers”, like Ghurye, Karve, D.P. Mukerjee, Radhakamal Mukherjee and Majumdar. He has also observed that this second generation of social anthropologists and sociologists have been very dependent on ideas borrowed from Western countries, particularly the UK and USA and how this dependence on what Yogendra Singh has called a “Western reference frame” has dominated the scene of social anthropology and sociology in India. Other eminent Indian social scientists like Ramakrishna Mukherjee, Roy Burman, Sinha and Dube have made similar observations regarding the state of social sciences and Nandi on the state of social psychology. They have all pleaded for development of concepts and methods that are in tune with the social and cultural conditions prevailing in India.

In Western countries also some scholars have questioned the works of some of the most influential social scientists in these

See references at the end of this chapter for the works by the authors mentioned

countries. Sorokin was among the first to question (in 1956) the relevance of most of the sociological work which had been carried out during the past half a century. C. Wright Mills made a perceptive analysis of existing concepts and methods of sociology while pleading for development of what he called "sociological imagination". Valentine's critique of the concept of culture of poverty and his excellent analysis of sociology of this type of knowledge and Andreski's branding of most contemporary works in social sciences as "sorcery", provide other instances of criticism of efforts of some social scientists to "mystify" or even vulgarise social sciences.

Sharing the basic contentions of most of the scholars referred to above, the author had taken pains not to get too engrossed over schools of Malinowski or Radcliffe Brown, Pritchard, Singer or Dumont. Nor did he allow himself to get bogged down with the interpretation of these scholars by their admirers and faithful followers in India. The author has also not paid much attention to those who claim to favour "value-free social sciences", because he feels that this assertion betrays a disturbing and a dangerous value position. Instead, he is in favour of making his values explicit by clearly stating his data, his assumptions, his hunches and even his biases, so that the reader is in a better position to assess the author's contentions.

Way back in 1960, when the case studies in *Health, Culture and Community*, and particularly those by Marriot and Carstairs written against Indian backgrounds, exercised considerable influence on Indian scholars and when social scientists came forward to help tuberculosis public health workers (Ref. 25) by finding ways of "educating" people to take recourse to Mobile Mass Miniature Radiological Units, the author had designed a study (Ref. 26), placing people, and not technology, as the starting point: What do people think of the disease? What does it mean to them? And, what do they do about it? This study revealed that even in those days, there was considerable awareness among the patients, more than half of whom (in the district Tumkur in the then Mysore state) had gone to a rural health institution. In almost all the instances, the practitioners of the so-called scientific Western medicine had dismissed them with a bottle of useless cough mixture! Then, the question was asked: Who

needed education, the doctor or the patient? These findings on awareness of tuberculosis patients in a rural community formed the basis of formulation of a people-oriented (felt-need oriented) tuberculosis programme for India (Ref. 27, 28). Another one-sided, very narrow and obviously prejudiced stand was taken by many tuberculosis specialists and social scientists on the so-called problem of treatment default. The term, treatment default, is itself a loaded one. Broad-based studies (Ref. 30, 31), which again started from the people, revealed that while some shortcomings could be attributed to the patients, an overwhelming number could be attributed to organisational failures or to limitations of technology (in the form of definition of a case or optimal treatment regime or the question of drug resistance). Yet, the organisation, and the technology "delivered" by it, had seldom become the object of any study to analyse the problem of "default": they were considered to be above reproach, because they were "good" and had been sanctified by high priests from Western countries. By implication, it was always the patient who must be reproached for his "default" and he should be "educated" so that he mends his ways on the lines prescribed by his "educators". Ivan Illich has convincingly exposed what he aptly describes as "this mystifying" and "dependence producing" activities in Western medical practice.

Such value positions come out very clearly in the case studies of Marriot and Carstairs. Dutifully echoing these ideas in his book, *Cultural Frontiers of Health in Village India*, Hasan reproached Indian villagers for what he perceived as their superstitious and unscientific health practices. Writings of Gould and Khare are in the same mould. Indeed, so pervasive has been this tendency to accuse the people and their culture while regarding the technology and the agency delivering it with considerable awe and respect that one is tempted to find an explanation in the Christian ethos of Western civilization: good (secular) Christians, with a missionary zeal, coming to these poor countries to "save" them by showing the way to salvation (through technology dished out by Western commercial interests). This veneration for technology and technological institutions is so deep-rooted (Ref. 36) in the (secular) Christian culture of the West that even radical social scientists like Djurfeldt and

Lindberg had not been entirely successful in seeing the available medical technology in the context of the way of life of the people, in their study of the village Thaiyur in Tamil Nadu. Some Western anthropologists have been so preoccupied with relating their discipline to the health field in Third World countries, that they have launched a new specialisation—Medical Anthropology, with special focus on Third World countries. Fabrega dilating on this “new” field of study says:

A medical anthropological inquiry will be defined as one that (a) elucidates the factors, mechanisms and processes that play a role in or influence the way in which individuals and groups are affected by and respond to illness and disease, and (b) examines these problems with an emphasis on patterns of behaviour. Primary emphasis will be given to studies that are conducted in *non-Western settings* and that rely on the concept of culture (emphasis mine).

Why should researches in the field of Medical Anthropology be confined mainly to study the Third World countries? It is implied that anthropological concepts cannot be applied to health problems, institutions and practices of Western countries to any large extent? Have Medical Anthropologists responded adequately to some very pertinent issues raised by Ivan Illich? (For example, iatrogenicity of various kinds, mystification, medicalisation and erosion of autonomy of individuals in the context of practice of “modern” medicine in Western countries.) Again, why should the contents of Medical Anthropology get limited to what Western anthropologists and the faithfuls from the Third World decide to perceive and study? Why should they take such a fragmented (and often distorted) look at cultural realities in Third World countries? (Ref. 22-24, 34) It is remarkable that such questions were not even raised by anthropologists belonging to the Third World during the Tenth International Conference of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, held in India in 1978. In this conference Medical Anthropology received special attention. This global meeting also provided a good market place for anthropologists belonging to affluent countries to recruit new converts and future proselyters for such rapidly

emerging exotic cults as Ethnomedicine, Folk Medicine and Traditional Asian Medicine (Ref. 42-44).

The author has presented the concept of health culture to counter these not very desirable trends in Medical Anthropology. He would however like to stress that it is not being brought out as a counterweight to Medical Anthropology. Health culture, by its very definition, is a component of Medical Anthropology. This concept is introduced to provide a better balance to methods and concepts of Medical Anthropology and is derived from ideas that were developed while designing the study of awareness of tuberculosis patients in Tumkur district. As the methodology for study of health culture has to be consistent with this concept, a new methodological approach for this study had to be framed. Because of this basic difference in the methodological approach, it may not be worthwhile to compare it with the conventional approaches, as represented by “Encounters and Experiences,” a collection of writings of a group of eminent Indian anthropologists, or as seen in the works of Srinivas, Hasan, Dube and Dasgupta. By the same token, no efforts will be made to relate the findings of the present study to the findings of studies conducted by such scholars.

Findings of the present study got some corroboration from the long term, longitudinal study of the Panchayat of a single village in Telengana region in Andhra Pradesh by Ranga Rao and the study *Health and Culture in a South Indian Village* by Mathews. However, because they have been single village studies and because there have been substantial differences, both in the range of the studies as well as in detailed implementation of methods, the overlap of interests of the present study with these two studies is very limited.

Against this background of a reference frame which is different from the Western one (referred to by Yogendra Singh), the implications of the findings of this study for social sciences in India, can be summarized as follows:

- i. An attempt has been made to add data on a class dimension to the conventional social dimension for study of caste and religion in India.
- ii. Data from the study have provided a deeper understanding of the problem of poverty in rural India, by giving

- flesh and blood to the skeletal framework of statistical data on this subject.
- iii. The data on poverty as well as those on caste and religion have been studied in the context of power and class relations, including social and economic control.
 - iv. The study provides some insights into the structure of village leadership and how this leadership influences various decisions concerning community life in villages.
 - v. It has also provided data on interactions and interrelations at the village level among the local leadership, the bureaucracy and political functionaries from higher levels.
 - vi. It has also been possible to obtain detailed data on the way various village leaders and party workers attempt to influence the behaviour of the electorate for elections to Gram Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis, State Legislative Assemblies and Lok Sabha.
 - vii. Data were also obtained on various implications of the high rate of growth of population and the response of different segments of village populations to the measures introduced from outside to reduce it.
 - viii. As the study population covered nineteen villages in eight states located in different regions of the country, it was possible to study how the findings varied in the different villages, in different states and in different regions.
 - ix. Follow-up study of all the nineteen villages, which continued right up to the end of March 1981, provided data on the process of social change and the response of village people to the major political and social changes during this period at the national and state levels.

IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH CULTURE OF STUDY POPULATIONS

For convenience of description, implications of the findings of the present study are being presented at two levels: at the micro level and at the macro level.

Micro level implications are in the form of extensive inter-relationship of data on various aspects of village life described in this volume, and the data on various aspects of health culture of different population groups will be discussed in the

companion volume. Issues such as village institutions, power structure, economic status of a family or of a given population segment, influence of political functionaries at various levels and relationship between politicians and various forms of government and community administrative structures, will be taken up for elucidating aspects of community health culture. Conversely, some of the micro data on health and family planning have already been used to elucidate certain key aspects of village life. Dumping of garbage in Bhangi colonies, diversion of the open sewage drain through the Harijan colony, implications of breakdown of a water supply system for Harijans, the perception of an ANM by Harijan women as a 'Mem', community response to the intensified family planning drive during Emergency and response of the (former) wife of Suryakanta Mukherjee to health problems of her children, to her own cholera-like disease condition and to the facilities offered by the family planning programme, are some of the instances of medical or health issues which have been used in this volume to throw light on aspects of social and economic relations within the populations of the study villages.

The macro data are in relation to large chunks of population and their implications will be discussed in two different contexts: (a) differences in urban and rural settings and (b) among different strata of populations within the villages. Concerning the differences in urban and rural settings, it has already been pointed out in Chapter 4 that in relative terms those living in rural areas suffer from major disadvantages because ecological surroundings are more adverse and availability of, and accessibility to, various kinds of health institutions are restricted because of their concentration in urban areas, because rural populations have much less political influence to gain access to these institutions and as a group they are economically much weaker than their urban counterparts.

Within a village itself, implications of macro data are presented in so far as they help in understanding various social forces influencing formation and functioning of different health institutions and how access to these institutions is linked with distribution of power and the nature of social control within the population. They also help in understanding why a group

has developed a particular perception of a health problem, why it has developed a particular meaning, and what factors determine the response of the community to the health problem.

By far the most important implication of this study is that it makes it possible to relate health problems of a community and its health culture with the question of poverty and the various social, economic and political forces in the community which influence the degree and the nature of poverty.

Biologically paraphrased, poor people are those who are on the losing side in the struggle for existence. Among those on the losing side are many who have been totally wiped out—they have died in this struggle for existence. Those who are not wiped out but somehow manage to cling to their lives, form a significant segment of the poor because of many reasons. The most ominous among them is that they have managed to survive under very adverse conditions, earlier considered incompatible with human survival. Due to factors not yet fully understood, it is apparent that the "floor" for biological survival of man has been lowered and because of this he has acquired higher longevity. But, as apparent from the several portraits of poverty, survival has become more precarious and this has drawn these human beings even nearer to a vegetative existence. They have become much more vulnerable to manipulation and control by those who have pushed them down in the struggle for existence. And it is only a perpetuation of misery and not life when some of the weak children borne by grossly malnourished mothers manage to survive the myriad hazards of life.

The study has thus provided data on various aspects of the most overwhelming health problem faced by rural populations in India: the problem of hunger. Poverty also leads to further disintegration and deterioration of the environment and of living conditions—of sanitation, of the quality of drinking water, of shelter, of clothing and being forced to eat wild roots, grass seeds, leaves and even garbage.

One of the most pernicious and potentially most dangerous consequences of extreme poverty is that it tends to numb the senses of the victims—it is just like numbness due to destruction of nerves in leprosy. A highly anaemic, grossly malnourished and undernourished woman, who carries all sorts of infections,

still thinks she is "normal", because that is the sort of life she had been living for as long as she remembers. Why, her parents also lived such a life! In a setting such as this, getting enough rice to eat, maybe with a piece of fish or meat, is abnormal, or more precisely, a windfall. The children exclaim at the "sweet" smell of gluey rice that is boiling in a brimless aluminium pot.

However, quite apart from what can be called "diseases of poverty", which have become a "normal" part of their "normal" lives, diseases also strike them in the form of medical catastrophes, and these strike them more often than they do other groups. Obstruction of childbirth or severe bleeding during childbirth, the husband unable to earn his wage because of prolonged typhoid fever, the adolescent girl constantly crying out in acute agony because of extensive inflammation of the eyes and various forms of serious injuries sustained as a result of accidents or assault, are examples of such medical catastrophes. Worse still, the poor are in a most disadvantageous position in facing such catastrophes: they are physically weak. Loss of wages due to sickness has profound impact on the economy of the entire household. Besides, they are not articulate—they are illiterate and ill-informed with no money to approach private practitioners or to bribe government officials or to buy the prescribed medicines or meet the cost of transporting the patient to a health institution. They can exercise little "influence" on officials because they are low down in the power hierarchy of the community. In a desperate bid to avert such catastrophes, they fall prostrate before the hated landowner or the moneylender or the unscrupulous political boss, and they readily agree to the terms dictated and thus barter away whatever power they possess. This, incidentally, shows how fallacious are assessments of social scientists in ascribing a place for health needs in the hierarchy of the needs of the people. When people face no medical catastrophes, health needs may be found low down in the so-called hierarchy of needs; but when there is a medical catastrophe, it becomes not simply a top priority, but a crash priority among the needs of the people. This also provides an example of how fallacies in the methodology lead to vital fallacies in the concepts.

Thus by having control over medical services at the

time of a medical catastrophe, the exploiting, privileged class uses this as a weapon to control and exploit the poor. Because of its privileged-class-orientation, the medical establishment also ends up strengthening the privileged class by helping it to deal more effectively with the (fewer) health problems it has to encounter, while at the same time, it weakens the underprivileged, by denying them access to medical institutions even when they encounter (more frequent) medical catastrophes.

This study has also provided ample data to dispel any notion that the overall atmosphere among the poor in rural India is that of unrelieved doom and gloom. The unjust and oppressive social and economic system is going through one crisis after another. Rising population growth, failure of the forcible sterilization drive, internal contradictions within the ruling classes and increasing assertion by the poor of their rights, are the major factors which are precipitating the series of crises. This has forced the ruling classes to make several concessions to the poor in social, economic and political terms. In turn, these concessions have inspired the poor to demand more: more democratization, greater social justice and higher return from their labour. While it may amount to romanticization to contend that many changes are taking place all over the country. Data from the nineteen villages for the entire duration of time, makes it very clear that there is considerable ferment in rural areas. There is demand for minimum wages for agricultural labour, for houses and social security; there have been demonstrations before a PHC to demand better performance by the staff; there are demands from Mahila Mandals for family planning services; and, there are widespread demands for a better deal for the poor in general and for Harijans in particular. In villages where the poor have managed to wrest some more power, they have been more effective in helping the poor by more efficiently implementing programmes such as Food for Work, Integrated Rural Development, Comprehensive Area Development Project, Operation Barga, old-age pension, relief programmes of various kinds and so on.

One of the significant findings of this study is the very limited extent of contribution and involvement of political parties in the ongoing struggle for a just social order. Because

of this weakness, these parties have missed several opportunities to strengthen the organisation of the oppressed classes so that the struggle can be carried forward. For instance, the programme of "People's Health in People's Hands," (Ref. 54) launched by the Union Government and most of the state governments, provided excellent opportunities for the people to develop competence to cope with most of their health problems on their own and to use the existing health service system more effectively by ensuring that the referral services work more efficiently. Further, placement of a community health worker or volunteer from among them offers the potential for organising people for demanding justice in having access to health services. Taking a broader view of health, nothing bars a community health worker from joining hands with other community level workers, striving to promote the struggle for a more just social order. Thus this programme could be employed to increase access to health services and as a vehicle of community self-reliance and democratisation in the field of health and consequently in other social, economic and political fields (Ref. 55). Thus, health work can serve as a stimulus for social change, which alone can enhance the ecological conditions necessary for improving the health status of a community.

To sum up there are four issues that emerge when considering the implications of the findings:

First, because of wide differences in the environmental conditions and in access to health institutions, it can be concluded in general that people in urban areas enjoy greater advantage over those living in rural areas. Similar differences exist even within the villages (as they do in cities), where a small privileged class lives in better environment with better access to health institutions than the vast majority of the village population.

Second, as the bulk of the health problems among the poor is generated by the extremely poor environmental conditions in which they live, these problems can be dealt only by improving the living conditions. As this improvement is essentially related to economic, political and social conditions, improvement of health status of a population is also essentially an economic, political and social issue. Under the existing conditions of social and economic relations, conventional health services can have only

a marginal role. Struggle for better health thus becomes synonymous with struggle for economic, political and social justice.

Third, under the existing conditions of gross inequality in the access to health institutions, the privileged class, which has control over access of the underprivileged to health institutions, uses the access to health institutions as a weapon to control and exploit the underprivileged.

Fourth, if the poor are organised enough to exploit the concessions that have already been made by the ruling classes in the fields of health, they can not only blunt the weapon of using access to health services to oppress them, but they can also use these concessions as a lever to join other forces in ushering in a more just social order.

References

- ¹I.P. Desai, "Craft of Sociology in India: An Autobiographical Perspective," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 16, No. 6, 1981, pp. 197-204, No. 7, pp. 246-51.
- ²G.S. Ghurye, *Caste and Class in India*, Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1950.
- ³J. Karve, *Kinship Organization in India*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1961.
- ⁴D.P. Mukherji, "Indian Tradition and Social Change" in G.N. Saksena (ed.), *Sociology, Social Research and Social Problems in India*, Bombay, Asia, Publishing House, 1961.
- ⁵R.K. Mukerjee, *Social Structure of Values*, London, Macmillan, 1950.
- ⁶D.N. Majumdar, *The Matrix of Indian Culture*, Nagpur, Nagpur University, 1948.
- ⁷Y. Singh, "The Role of Social Sciences in India: A Sociology of Knowledge," *Sociological Bulletin*, vol. 22, 1973, pp. 14-28.
- ⁸R.K. Mukherji "Indian Sociology: Historical Development and Present Problems," *Sociological Bulletin*, vol. 22, No. 1, 1973, pp. 29-58.
- ⁹B.K. Roy Burman, "Critique of Maurice Freedman's Report on Social and Cultural Anthropology," *Man in India*, vol. 54, No. 2, 1974, pp. 130-44.
- ¹⁰S. Sinha, "Is There an Indian Tradition in Socio-cultural Anthropology, Retrospect," *Journal of Indian Anthropological Society*, vol. 6, 1973, pp. 1-14.

- ¹¹S.C. Dube, "Anthropology and the Challenge of Development, A view from the Third World" in proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, New Delhi, 1978.
- ¹²A. Nandi, "The Non-paradigmatic Crisis of Indian Psychology, Reflections of a Receptient Culture of Science," *Indian Journal of Psychology*, vol. 49, 1974, pp. 1-20.
- ¹³P.A. Sorokin, *Facts and Foibles in Modern Sociology and Related Sciences*, Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1956.
- ¹⁴C.W. Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1959.
- ¹⁵C.A. Valentine, *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- ¹⁶S.C. Andreski, *Social Sciences and Sorcery*, London, Andre Deutsch, 1972.
- ¹⁷B. Malinowski, *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays*, North-California University Press, 1944.
- ¹⁸A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, Illinois, Free Press, 1952.
- ¹⁹E. Pritchard, *Social Anthropology*, London, Cohen and West, 1956.
- ²⁰M. Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, Delhi, Vikas, 1972.
- ²¹L. Dumont and D. Pocock, "Village Studies," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, Paris, Mouton, No. 1, 1957, pp. 7-64.
- ²²B.D. Paul, *Health, Culture and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955.
- ²³M. Marriot, "Western Medicine in a Village of Northern India," in B.D. Paul, (ed.), *Health, Culture and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955.
- ²⁴G.M. Carstairs, "Medicine and Faith in Rural Rajasthan" in B.D. Paul, (ed.), *Health, Culture and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955.
- ²⁵B.K. Sikand and Raj Narain, "Unknown Cases in Pulmonary Tuberculosis," *Indian Journal of Tuberculosis*, vol. 5, 1957, pp. 3-10.
- ²⁶D. Benerji and S. Anderson, "A Sociological Study of the Awareness of Symptoms Suggestive of Pulmonary Tuberculosis," *Bulletin of World Health Organization*, vol. 29, No. 5, 1963, p. 665.
- ²⁷D. Banerji, "Tuberculosis as a Problem of Social Planning in India," *NIHAE Bulletin*, vol. 4, No. 1, 1971, pp. 9-25.
- ²⁸D.R. Nagpaul, "District Tuberculosis Programme in Concept and Outline," *Indian Journal of Tuberculosis*, vol. 14, No. 4, 1967, pp. 186-98.
- ²⁹A.K. Chakraborty, "Twentieth Anniversary of NTI—What has the NTI Achieved?" *NTI News letter*, vol. 16, No. 4, December 1979, pp. 104-10.
- ³⁰D. Banerji, *Effect of Treatment Default on Result of Treatment in a Routine Practice in India*, Proceedings of the XXth International Tuberculosis Conference, Paris, International Union Against Tuberculosis, 1970.
- ³¹M.M. Singh and D. Banerji, "A Follow-up Study of Patients of Pulmonary Tuberculosis Treated in an Urban Clinic," *Indian Journal of*

Tuberculosis, vol. 15, 1968, pp. 157-64.

³²I. Illich, *Limits to Medicine*, Bombay, Rupa and Co., 1977.

³³K.A. Hasan, *Cultural Frontier of Health in Village India*, Bombay, Manektalas, 1967.

³⁴H.A. Gould, "Implications of Technological Change for Folk and Scientific Medicine," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 59, 1967, pp. 507-16.

³⁵R.S. Khare, "Folk Medicine in a North Indian Village," *Human Organization*, vol. 22, No. 1, 1963, pp. 36-40.

³⁶G.M. Foster, "Medical Anthropology: Some Contrasts with Medical Sociology," *Social Science and Medicine*, vol. 9, 1975, pp. 427-32.

³⁷G. Djurfeldt and S. Lindberg, *Pills Against Poverty, A Study of the Introduction of Western Medicine in a Tamil Village*, (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series No. 23), New Delhi, Oxford and IBH Publishers, 1975.

³⁸H. Fabrega, "Medical Anthropology," *Biennial Review of Anthropology*, 1971, pp. 167-229.

³⁹I. Illich, *Limits to Medicine*, Bombay, Rupa and Co., 1977.

⁴⁰G.M. Carstairs, "Medicine and Faith in Rural Rajasthan" in B.D. Paul (ed.), *Health, Culture and Community*, New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 1955.

⁴¹University of Poona, Deptt. of Anthropology, *Proceeding of the Post-Plenary Session on Medical Anthropology*, 10th International Conference on Anthropological and Ethnological Science, Poona, 1978.

⁴²C.C. Hughes, "Ethnomedicine" *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 10, New York, Free Press, 1968, pp. 87-93.

⁴³V. Kocher, et al. "Strengthening the Folk Health System: Proposed Link Between the Health Needs of the Rural Population and Limitations of the Formal Health System in Remote Rural Areas" in *Alternative Approaches to Health Care*, New Delhi, Indian Council of Medical Research, 1976.

⁴⁴First International Conference on Traditional Asian Medicine, *Proceedings of the Conference*, Canberra, National University, 2-15 September 1979.

⁴⁵A. Beteille, and T.N. Madan, 1975, *Encounter and Experience: Personal Accounts of Field Work*, Delhi, Vikas, 1975.

⁴⁶M.N. Srinivas, *Methods in Social Anthropology: Selected Essays by Radcliffe-Brown*, University of Chicago Press, 1958.

⁴⁷M.N. Srinivas, *India's Villages*, Bombay Asia Publishing House, 1965.

⁴⁸M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1966.

⁴⁹S.C. Dube, *India's Changing Villages: Human Factor in Community Development*, Bombay, Allied Publishers, 1958.

⁵⁰B. Dasgupta, *Village Society and Labour Use*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1977.

⁵¹B. Dasgupta (ed.), *Village Studies in the Third World* (Based on papers

submitted to the Delhi Conference on Village Studies, December, Delhi, Hindustan Publishers, 1974.

⁵²K. Ranga Rao, *Village Politics: A Longitudinal Study*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1980.

⁵³C.M.E. Mathews, *Health and Culture in a South Indian Village*, New Delhi, Sterling, 1979.

⁵⁴Government of India, *Annual Report, 1977-78*, New Delhi, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 1978.

⁵⁵D. Banerji, "Health as a Lever for Another Development," *Development Dialogue*, vol. 1, 1978, pp. 19-25.

Table 1
General Description of the Study Villages

| Village | State | District | Distance from the city | Total population | Proportion of Harijans | Proportion of Muslims | Period of field work |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------------|------------------------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Amdanga | West Bengal | 24-Parganas | 38 Kms | 1724 | 14.5% | 53.5% | 13.3.73 to 31.7.73 |
| Haringhata | West Bengal | Nadia | 52 Kms | 1128 | 13.8% | 6.1% | 17.7.72 to 4.12.72 |
| Coyalmannam | Kerala | Palghat | 14 Kms | 3012 | 12.7% | 16.3% | 10.4.74 to 22.7.74 |
| Jadigenhalli | Karnataka | Bangalore | 40 Kms | 1163 | 17.7% | 2% | 12.7.72 to 16.12.72 |
| Kachhona | U.P. | Hardoi | 70 Kms | 2289 | 21.5% | 14.9% | 24.6.72 to 14.10.72 |
| Pazhambalakode | Kerala | Palghat | 40 Kms | 3592 | 8.2% | 10.4% | 10.4.74 to 20.7.74 |
| Pullambadi | Tamil Nadu | Tiruchirappally | 42 Kms | 6026 | 4% | 2.2% | 17.7.73 to 24.11.74 |
| Rupul | Gujarat | Sabarkantha | 36 Kms | 1710 | 20% | 36% | 8.11.73 to 17.4.74 |
| Rohat | Rajasthan | Pali | 50 Kms | 2459 | 23.3% | 20% | 16.1.73 to 9.7.73 |
| Rohota | U.P. | Meerut | 18 Kms | 7009 | 35% | Nil | 18.10.72 to 19.2.73 |
| Yelwal | Karnataka | Mysore | 16 Kms | 1608 | 19.1% | 4.5% | 20.1.73 to 9.8.73 |
| Kalur | Karnataka | Mysore | 21 Kms | 572 | 4.5% | Nil | 16.7.73 to 18.8.73 |
| Arnavali | U.P. | Meerut | 14 Kms | 1772 | 46.2% | 8.1% | 14.9.72 to 1.6.73 |
| Bilaspur | Haryana | Karnal | 20 Kms | 557 | 13.6% | Nil | 20.10.74 to 8.2.75 |
| Dakshin Duttapara | West Bengal | Nadia | 60 Kms | 661 | 3.7% | Nil | 5.12.72 to 10.3.73 |
| Gambhoi | Gujarat | Sabarkantha | 28 Kms | 500 | 20.2% | 7.2% | 17.5.74 to 2.7.74 |
| Kamdevpur | West Bengal | 24-Parganas | 35 Kms | 1687 | 6.6% | 0.4% | 1.8.73 to 8.12.73 |
| Rampura | Rajasthan | Pali | 55 Kms | 534 | 33% | Nil | 15.6.73 to 10.9.73 |
| Sunni | U.P. | Hardoi | 78 Kms | 928 | 35.2% | 2.1% | 27.12.72 to 9.3.73 |

Table 2

General Description of the Study Villages

| Village | PHC located/distance from PHC | Medicine shops | Qualified allopathic physician | Registered medical practitioner | Homeopathic practitioners | Unani practitioners | Ayurvedic practitioners |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Amdanga | Yes | 1 | 1 | Nil | 1 | Nil | Nil |
| Harin-ghata | Yes | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | Nil | 1 |
| Coyal-mannam | Yes | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Nil | 1 |
| Jadigen-halli | Yes | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| Kach-hona | Yes | 2 | 1 | 2 | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| Pazham-balakode | Yes | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | Nil | Nil |
| Pullam-badi | Yes | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Nil | Nil |
| Rupal | Yes | 1 | Nil | 2 | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| Rohat | Yes | 1 | Nil | 1 | Nil | 1 | 1 |
| Rohota | Yes | 1 | Nil | 7 | Nil | 3 | 1 |
| Yelwal | Yes | Nil | 1 | 1 | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Kalur | 5 Kms | Nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Arna-vali | 6 Kms | Nil | Nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Bilaspur | 18Kms | 1 | Nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 10 Kms | 3 | Nil | Nil | 2 | Nil | 1 |
| Gambhoi | 6 Kms | 2 | Nil | 2 | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| Kamdev-pur | 3 Kms | 1 | Nil | 2 | 1 | Nil | Nil |
| Rampura | 4 Kms | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Sunni | 8 Kms | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil |

Table 3

General Description of the Study Villages

| Village | Block head-quarters | Bus service | High school | Electricity | Post office | Bank |
|-------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------|
| Amdanga | Yes | Yes | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| Harin-ghata | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Coyalmannam | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Jadigenhalli | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | No |
| Kachhona | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Pazhambalakode | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Pullambadi | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Rupal | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Rohat | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | No | Yes |
| Rohota | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Yelwal | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes |
| Kalur | No | Yes | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Arnavali | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | No |
| Bilaspur | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | No |
| Dakshin Duttapara | No | Yes | No | No | No | No |
| Gambhoi | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Kamdevpur | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | No |
| Rampura | No | No | No | No | No | No |
| Sunni | No | No | Yes | No | No | No |

Table 4

Housing Conditions

| Village | Thatch & Mud | Variables | | Total |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|------------|
| | | Brick Built | Mixed | |
| Amdanga | 89.7(35) | 5.1(2) | 5.1(2) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 83.8(67) | 5.0(4) | 11.3(9) | 100.0(80) |
| Coyalmanam | 9.8(5) | 54.9(28) | 35.3(18) | 99.9(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 13.8(11) | 85.0(68) | 1.3(1) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhonna | 54.3(38) | 12.9(9) | 32.9(23) | 100.0(70) |
| Pazhambalakode | 43.1(25) | 20.7(12) | 36.2(21) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 52.6(51) | 25.8(25) | 21.7(21) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 67.2(39) | 13.8(8) | 19.0(11) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 86.1(62) | 2.8(2) | 11.1(8) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 34.4(31) | 21.1(19) | 44.4(40) | 99.9(90) |
| Yelwal | 7.3(4) | 41.8(23) | 50.9(28) | 100.0(55) |
| Kalur | 5.9(1) | 41.2(7) | 52.9(9) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 44.7(17) | 34.2(13) | 21.0(8) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 16.7(3) | 61.1(11) | 22.2(4) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Dattapara | 88.9(48) | 3.7(2) | 7.4(4) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 78.6(11) | 14.3(2) | 7.1(1) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 83.3(35) | 9.5(4) | 7.1(3) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 95.2(20) | 0.0(0) | 4.8(1) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 66.7(24) | 0.0(0) | 33.3(12) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 53.2(527) | 24.1(239) | 22.6(224) | 100.0(990) |

NB: The figures in bracket represent the frequencies in all the Tables.

Table 5

Availability of Latrine

| Village | Scavenging | Variables | | | Total |
|-------------------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|
| | | Flush | Borehole | None | |
| Amdanga | 5.1(2) | 2.6(1) | 5.1(2) | 87.2(34) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 26.3(21) | 8.8(7) | 10.0(8) | 55.0(44) | 100.0(80) |
| Coyalmanam | 10.0(5) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 90.0(45) | 100.0(50) |
| Jadigenhalli | 0.0(0) | 1.3(1) | 8.8(7) | 90.0(72) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhonna | 21.4(15) | 1.4(1) | 0.0(0) | 77.1(54) | 100.0(70) |
| Pazhambalakode | 8.8(5) | 1.8(1) | 0.0(0) | 89.5(51) | 99.9(57) |
| Pullambadi | 7.2(7) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 92.8(90) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 0.0(0) | 3.5(2) | 0.0(0) | 96.5(55) | 100.0(57) |
| Rohat | 2.8(2) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 97.2(70) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 7.8(7) | 7.8(7) | 2.2(2) | 82.2(74) | 100.0(90) |
| Yelwal | 0.0(0) | 14.6(8) | 0.0(0) | 85.5(47) | 100.0(55) |
| Kalur | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(17) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 2.6(1) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 97.4(37) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 5.6(1) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 94.4(17) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Dattapara | 3.7(2) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 96.3(52) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(14) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 0.0(0) | 2.4(1) | 4.9(2) | 92.7(38) | 100.0(41) |
| Rampura | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(21) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 2.8(1) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 97.2(35) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 7.0(69) | 2.9(29) | 2.1(21) | 87.0(867) | 100.0(986) |

Table 6

Availability of Electricity Connection

| Village | Variables | | Total |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | Yes | No | |
| Amdanga | 0.0(0) | 100.0(39) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 1.3(1) | 98.8(79) | 100.0(80) |
| Coyalmannam | 51.0(26) | 49.0(25) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 21.5(17) | 78.5(62) | 100.0(79) |
| Kachhona | 12.9(9) | 87.1(61) | 100.0(70) |
| Pazhambalakode | 19.0(11) | 81.0(47) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 33.7(32) | 66.3(63) | 100.0(95) |
| Rupal | 51.7(30) | 48.3(28) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 0.0(0) | 100.0(71) | 100.0(71) |
| Rohota | 15.6(14) | 84.4(76) | 100.0(90) |
| Yelwal | 41.0(25) | 58.9(33) | 100.0(56) |
| Kalur | 29.4(5) | 70.6(12) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 13.2(5) | 86.8(33) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 27.8(5) | 72.2(13) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 1.9(1) | 98.2(53) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 21.4(3) | 78.6(11) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 9.5(4) | 90.5(38) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 0.0(0) | 100.0(21) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 0.0(0) | 100.0(36) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 18.8(186) | 81.2(801) | 100.0(987) |

Table 7

Ownership of a Radio

| Village | Variables | | Total |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | Yes | No | |
| Amdanga | 23.0(9) | 76.9(30) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 30.0(24) | 70.0(56) | 100.0(80) |
| Coyalmannam | 17.7(9) | 82.4(42) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 17.0(13) | 83.0(65) | 100.0(78) |
| Kachhona | 10.0(7) | 90.0(63) | 100.0(70) |
| Pazhambalakode | 13.8(8) | 86.2(50) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 18.0(17) | 82.0(80) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 16.0(9) | 84.0(49) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 6.0(4) | 94.0(68) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 28.0(25) | 72.0(65) | 100.0(90) |
| Yelwal | 21.0(12) | 79.0(44) | 100.0(56) |
| Kalur | 6.0(1) | 94.0(16) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 29.0(11) | 71.0(27) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 11.0(2) | 89.0(16) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 33.0(18) | 67.0(36) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 7.0(1) | 93.0(13) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 38.0(16) | 62.0(26) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 0.0(0) | 100.0(21) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 11.0(4) | 89.0(32) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 19.0(190) | 81.0(799) | 100.0(989) |

Table 8
Caste and Religion

| Village | Harijans | Backward castes | Variables | | | Brahmins | Muslims | Total |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------|
| | | | Other cultivators | Trading castes | | | | |
| Andanga | 12.8(5) | 2.6(1) | 28.2(11) | 5.1(2) | 2.6(1) | 48.7(19) | 100.0(39) | |
| Haringhata | 22.5(18) | 17.5(14) | 35.0(28) | 3.8(3) | 8.8(7) | 12.5(10) | 100.0(80) | |
| Coyalmannam | 15.7(8) | 41.2(21) | 2.0(1) | 2.0(1) | 25.5(13) | 13.7(7) | 100.0(51) | |
| Jadigenhalli | 17.5(14) | 38.8(31) | 22.5(18) | 10.0(8) | 7.5(6) | 3.8(3) | 100.0(80) | |
| Kachhona | 24.3(17) | 18.6(13) | 14.3(10) | 18.6(13) | 5.7(4) | 18.6(13) | 100.0(70) | |
| Pazhambalakode | 8.6(5) | 17.2(10) | 1.7(1) | 43.1(25) | 12.0(7) | 17.2(10) | 99.9(58) | |
| Pullambadi | 17.5(17) | 5.2(5) | 63.9(62) | 8.3(8) | 0.0(0) | 5.2(5) | 100.0(97) | |
| Rupal | 19.0(11) | 24.1(14) | 27.6(16) | 19.0(11) | 6.9(4) | 3.4(2) | 100.0(58) | |
| Rohat | 20.8(15) | 12.5(9) | 22.2(16) | 13.9(10) | 11.1(8) | 19.4(14) | 99.9(72) | |
| Rohota | 30.0(27) | 17.8(16) | 20.0(18) | 11.1(10) | 6.7(6) | 14.4(13) | 100.0(90) | |
| Yelwal | 19.6(11) | 8.9(5) | 51.8(29) | 3.6(2) | 10.7(6) | 5.4(3) | 100.0(56) | |
| Kalur | 6.3(1) | 50.0(8) | 37.5(6) | 0.0(0) | 6.3(1) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(16) | |
| Arnavali | 44.7(17) | 13.2(5) | 13.2(5) | 0.0(0) | 18.4(7) | 10.5(4) | 100.0(38) | |
| Bilaspur | 7.1(2) | 21.4(6) | 21.4(6) | 3.6(1) | 46.4(13) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(28) | |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 7.4(4) | 68.5(37) | 18.5(10) | 1.9(1) | 3.7(2) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(54) | |
| Gambhoi | 14.3(2) | 57.1(8) | 14.3(2) | 7.1(1) | 0.0(0) | 7.1(1) | 100.0(14) | |
| Kamdevpur | 0.0(0) | 2.4(1) | 92.9(39) | 4.8(2) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(42) | |
| Rampura | 33.3(7) | 14.3(3) | 42.9(9) | 0.0(0) | 9.5(2) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(21) | |
| Sunni | 33.3(12) | 25.0(9) | 16.7(6) | 8.3(3) | 13.9(5) | 2.8(1) | 100.0(36) | |
| Total | 19.3(193) | 21.6(216) | 29.3(293) | 10.1(101) | 9.2(92) | 10.5(105) | 100.0(1000) | |

Table 9

Occupations

| Village | Variables | | | | | Total |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------|----------|-----------|--------------------|------------|
| | Agriculture | Trade | Service | Artisans | Labourers & others | |
| Andanga | 51.3(20) | 10.3(4) | 10.3(4) | 0.0(0) | 28.2(11) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 13.8(11) | 20.0(16) | 32.5(26) | 7.5(6) | 26.3(21) | 100.0(80) |
| Coyalmannam | 29.4(15) | 11.8(6) | 11.8(6) | 21.6(11) | 25.5(13) | 99.9(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 42.35(34) | 13.8(11) | 16.3(13) | 3.8(3) | 23.8(19) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 42.0(29) | 33.3(23) | 5.8(4) | 13.0(9) | 5.8(4) | 100.0(69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 10.3(6) | 6.9(4) | 5.2(3) | 44.8(26) | 32.8(19) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 41.2(40) | 9.3(9) | 7.2(7) | 2.0(2) | 40.2(39) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 32.8(19) | 12.0(7) | 15.5(9) | 19.0(11) | 20.7(12) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 38.9(28) | 11.1(8) | 12.5(9) | 15.3(11) | 22.2(16) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 35.6(32) | 13.3(12) | 2.2(2) | 27.8(25) | 21.1(19) | 100.0(90) |
| Yelwal | 60.7(34) | 8.9(5) | 17.9(10) | 3.6(2) | 8.9(5) | 100.0(56) |
| Kalur | 52.9(9) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 23.5(4) | 23.5(4) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 36.8(14) | 0.0(0) | 5.3(2) | 18.4(7) | 39.5(15) | 99.9(38) |
| Bilaspur | 55.6(10) | 5.6(1) | 0.0(0) | 11.1(2) | 27.8(5) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 42.3(22) | 7.7(4) | 0.0(0) | 9.6(5) | 40.4(21) | 100.0(52) |
| Gambhoi | 57.1(8) | 7.1(1) | 7.1(1) | 28.6(4) | 0.0(0) | 99.9(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 57.1(24) | 9.5(4) | 2.4(1) | 7.1(3) | 23.8(10) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 95.2(20) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 4.8(1) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 86.1(31) | 2.8(1) | 0.0(0) | 5.6(2) | 5.6(2) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 41.1(406) | 11.7(116) | 9.8(97) | 13.5(133) | 23.9(236) | 100.0(988) |

Table 10
Degree of Hunger Satisfaction

| Village | Variables | | | | | Total |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| | Fully satisfied | Not for 1 month or less | Not for 1 to 3 months | Not for 3 to 6 months | Not for more than 6 months | |
| Amdanga | 41.0(16) | 7.7(3) | 33.3(13) | 15.4(6) | 0.0(0) | 99.9(39) |
| Haringhata | 38.8(31) | 6.3(5) | 28.8(23) | 17.5(14) | 2.5(2) | 100.0(80) |
| Coyalmannam | 39.2(20) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 39.2(20) | 21.6(11) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 67.5(54) | 0.0(0) | 3.8(3) | 20.0(16) | 5.0(4) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 55.1(38) | 1.5(1) | 2.9(2) | 34.8(24) | 1.5(1) | 100.0(69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 13.8(8) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 70.7(41) | 13.8(8) | 99.9(58) |
| Pullambadi | 29.9(29) | 0.0(0) | 7.2(7) | 56.7(55) | 6.2(6) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 77.7(45) | 1.7(1) | 13.8(8) | 6.9(4) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 75.0(54) | 0.0(0) | 1.4(1) | 11.1(8) | 4.2(3) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 70.1(69) | 0.0(0) | 8.1(7) | 13.8(12) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(87) |
| Yelwal | 25.0(14) | 1.8(1) | 17.9(10) | 44.6(25) | 3.6(2) | 100.0(56) |
| Kalur | 11.8(2) | 0.0(0) | 23.5(4) | 58.8(10) | 5.9(1) | 99.9(17) |
| Arnavali | 47.4(18) | 2.6(1) | 10.5(4) | 34.2(13) | 2.6(1) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 72.2(13) | 0.0(0) | 11.1(2) | 16.7(3) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 77.8(42) | 5.6(3) | 5.6(3) | 5.6(3) | 1.9(1) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 71.4(10) | 0.0(0) | 14.3(2) | 14.3(2) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 59.5(25) | 0.0(0) | 19.1(8) | 11.9(5) | 4.8(2) | 99.9(42) |
| Rampura | 66.7(14) | 0.0(0) | 9.5(2) | 14.3(3) | 9.5(2) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 61.1(22) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 27.8(10) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 52.3(516) | 1.5(15) | 10.0(99) | 27.8(274) | 4.5(44) | 100.0(987) |

Table 11

Pattern of Landholdings

| Village | Variables | | | | | Total |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|------------|
| | No Land/5 acres of dry land or less | 5 acres of dry land or more | 1 acre wet with some dry land | 1 to 3 acres wet with some dry land | Above 3 acres wet land without dry land | |
| Amdanga | 76.9(30) | 5.1(2) | 2.6(1) | 7.7(3) | 7.7(3) | 99.9(39) |
| Haringhata | 97.5(78) | 1.3(1) | 0.0(0) | 1.3(1) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(80) |
| Coyalmannam | 62.8(32) | 0.0(0) | 7.8(4) | 27.5(14) | 2.0(1) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 41.3(33) | 1.3(1) | 28.8(23) | 21.3(17) | 7.5(6) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 67.1(47) | 1.4(1) | 11.4(8) | 14.3(10) | 5.7(4) | 100.0(70) |
| Pazhambalakode | 82.8(48) | 0.0(0) | 3.5(2) | 3.5(2) | 10.3(6) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 82.5(80) | 0.0(0) | 3.1(3) | 9.3(9) | 5.2(5) | 99.9(97) |
| Rupal | 56.9(33) | 0.0(0) | 6.9(4) | 13.8(8) | 22.4(13) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 40.3(29) | 45.8(33) | 0.0(0) | 1.4(1) | 12.5(9) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 51.1(46) | 0.0(0) | 6.7(6) | 10.0(9) | 32.2(29) | 100.0(90) |
| Yelwal | 83.9(47) | 0.0(0) | 7.1(4) | 7.1(4) | 1.8(1) | 100.0(56) |
| Kalur | 64.7(11) | 35.3(6) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 63.2(24) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 36.8(14) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 44.4(8) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 5.6(1) | 50.0(9) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 81.5(44) | 7.4(4) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 11.1(6) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 42.9(6) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 42.9(6) | 14.3(2) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 66.7(28) | 4.8(2) | 16.7(7) | 4.8(2) | 7.1(3) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 19.1(4) | 23.8(5) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 57.1(12) | 99.9(21) |
| Sunni | 22.2(8) | 0.0(0) | 19.4(7) | 47.2(17) | 11.1(4) | 99.9(36) |
| Total | 64.2(636) | 5.6(55) | 7.0(69) | 10.5(104) | 12.8(127) | 100.0(991) |

Table 12.
Number of Children Born in Households

| Village | No of Birth | Variables | | | | | | | | | Total |
|----------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| | | One Born | Two Born | Three Born | Four Born | Five Born | Six Born | Seven Born | Eight Born | Nine or more | |
| Amdanga | 7.7 (3) | 7.7 (3) | 2.6 (1) | 10.3 (4) | 14.8 (5) | 10.3 (4) | 12.8 (5) | 12.8 (5) | 5.1 (2) | 18.0 (7) | 100.0 (39) |
| Haringhata | 10.0 (8) | 3.8 (3) | 8.8 (7) | 17.5 (14) | 13.8 (11) | 15.0 (12) | 5.0 (4) | 8.8 (7) | 7.5 (6) | 10.0 (8) | 100.0 (80) |
| Coyalmannam | 5.7 (3) | 1.9 (1) | 5.7 (3) | 9.4 (5) | 7.6 (4) | 15.1 (8) | 17.0 (9) | 15.1 (8) | 9.4 (5) | 13.2 (7) | 99.9 (53) |
| Jadigenhalli | 5.0 (4) | 3.8 (3) | 11.3 (9) | 12.5 (10) | 15.0 (12) | 7.5 (6) | 7.5 (6) | 8.8 (7) | 15.0 (12) | 13.8 (11) | 99.9 (80) |
| Kachhona | 7.1 (5) | 2.9 (2) | 11.4 (8) | 7.1 (5) | 11.4 (8) | 7.1 (5) | 7.1 (5) | 5.7 (4) | 7.1 (5) | 32.9 (23) | 100.0 (70) |
| Pazhambalakode | 6.9 (4) | 3.5 (2) | 6.9 (4) | 10.3 (6) | 6.9 (4) | 19.0 (11) | 19.0 (11) | 6.9 (4) | 17.2 (10) | 3.5 (2) | 100.0 (58) |
| Pullambadi | 4.1 (4) | 4.1 (4) | 3.1 (3) | 9.3 (9) | 22.7 (22) | 20.6 (20) | 18.6 (18) | 12.4 (12) | 4.1 (4) | 1.0 (1) | 99.9 (97) |
| Rupal | 8.6 (5) | 8.6 (5) | 8.6 (5) | 12.1 (7) | 8.6 (5) | 10.3 (6) | 12.0 (7) | 12.0 (7) | 10.3 (6) | 8.6 (5) | 99.9 (58) |
| Rohat | 11.1 (8) | 8.3 (6) | 8.3 (6) | 9.7 (7) | 8.3 (6) | 5.6 (4) | 12.5 (9) | 4.2 (3) | 18.1 (13) | 13.9 (10) | 100.0 (72) |

Contd.

Table 12 (Contd.)

| Village | No of birth | Variables | | | | | | | Nine or more | Total | |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|
| | | One born | Two born | Three born | Four born | Five born | Six born | Seven born | | | Eight born |
| Rohota | 3.3 (3) | 11.1 (10) | 7.8 (7) | 16.7 (15) | 17.8 (16) | 16.7 (15) | 8.9 (8) | 5.6 (5) | 5.6 (5) | 6.7 (6) | 100.0 (90) |
| Yelwal | 8.9 (5) | 7.1 (4) | 10.7 (6) | 10.7 (6) | 16.1 (9) | 8.9 (5) | 8.9 (5) | 7.1 (4) | 7.1 (0) | 14.3 (8) | 99.9 (56) |
| Kalur | 0.0 (0) | 5.9 (1) | 17.7 (3) | 11.8 (2) | 17.7 (3) | 3.5 (4) | 5.9 (1) | 5.9 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 11.8 (2) | 99.9 (17) |
| Arnavali | 7.9 (3) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 10.5 (4) | 5.3 (2) | 15.8 (6) | 18.4 (7) | .3 (2) | 0.0 (0) | 36.8 (14) | 99.9 (38) |
| Bilaspur | 16.7 (3) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 11.1 (2) | 11.1 (2) | 16.7 (3) | 5.6 (1) | 11.1 (2) | 11.1 (2) | 16.7 (3) | 100.0 (18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 7.4 (11) | 3.7 (2) | 20.4 (11) | 16.7 (9) | 18.5 (10) | 3.7 (2) | 7.4 (4) | 9.3 (5) | 1.9 (1) | 11.1 (6) | 100.0 (54) |
| Gambhoi | 0.0 (0) | 14.3 (2) | 0.0 (0) | 14.3 (2) | 35.7 (5) | 14.3 (2) | 7.1 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 7.1 (1) | 7.1 (1) | 100.0 (14) |
| Kamdevpur | 4.8 (2) | 11.9 (5) | 7.1 (3) | 9.5 (4) | 4.8 (2) | 14.3 (6) | 11.9 (5) | 4.8 (2) | 16.7 (7) | 14.3 (6) | 99.9 (42) |
| Rampura | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 19.1 (4) | 19.1 (4) | 0.0 (0) | 19.1 (4) | 4.8 (1) | 9.5 (2) | 28.6 (6) | 100.0 (21) |
| Sunni | 5.6 (2) | 5.6 (2) | 5.6 (2) | 8.3 (3) | 8.3 (3) | 22.2 (8) | 11.1 (4) | 8.3 (3) | 13.9 (5) | 11.1 (4) | 100.0 (36) |
| Total | 6.7 (66) | 5.5 (55) | 7.9 (78) | 11.9 (118) | 13.4 (133) | 12.8 (127) | 11.5 (114) | 8.3 (82) | 9.1 (90) | 13.1 (130) | 99.9 (993) |

Table 13
Number of Child-Deaths in Households

| Village | No of birth | No of death | Variables | | | | Total |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | | One death | Two deaths | Three deaths | Four deaths | |
| Amdanga | 7.7 (3) | 41.0 (16) | 10.3 (4) | 23.1 (9) | 12.8 (5) | 5.1 (2) | 100.0 (39) |
| Haringhata | 10.0 (8) | 42.5 (34) | 23.8 (19) | 11.3 (9) | 3.8 (3) | 6.3 (5) | 100.0 (80) |
| Coyalmannam | 5.9 (3) | 45.1 (23) | 23.5 (12) | 15.7 (8) | 7.8 (4) | 0.0 (0) | 99.9 (51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 5.0 (4) | 35.0 (28) | 27.3 (22) | 21.3 (17) | 3.8 (3) | 2.5 (1) | 100.0 (80) |
| Kachhona | 7.1 (5) | 27.1 (19) | 15.7 (11) | 21.4 (15) | 1.4 (1) | 4.3 (3) | 99.9 (70) |
| Pazhambalakode | 6.9 (4) | 41.4 (24) | 19.0 (11) | 24.1 (14) | 6.9 (4) | 1.7 (1) | 100.0 (58) |
| Pullambadi | 4.2 (4) | 67.7 (65) | 20.9 (20) | 6.3 (6) | 1.0 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (96) |
| Rupal | 8.8 (5) | 54.4 (31) | 19.3 (11) | 7.0 (4) | 8.8 (5) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (57) |
| Rohat | 11.1 (8) | 43.1 (31) | 13.9 (10) | 16.7 (12) | 6.9 (5) | 2.8 (2) | 100.0 (72) |
| Rohota | 3.3 (3) | 50.0 (45) | 17.8 (16) | 13.3 (12) | 2.2 (2) | 3.3 (3) | 99.9 (90) |

(Contd.)

Table 13 (Contd.)

| Village | No of birth | No of death | One death | Two deaths | Three deaths | Four deaths | Five deaths | Six or more deaths | Total |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Yelwal | 8.9 (5) | 58.9 (33) | 16.1 (9) | 16.1 (9) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (56) |
| Kalur | 0.0 (0) | 76.5 (13) | 17.7 (13) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 5.9 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (17) |
| Arnavali | 7.9 (3) | 23.7 (9) | 15.8 (6) | 5.3 (2) | 21.1 (8) | 18.4 (7) | 0.0 (0) | 7.9 (3) | 100.0 (38) |
| Bilaspur | 16.7 (3) | 33.3 (6) | 22.2 (4) | 5.6 (1) | 11.1 (2) | 5.6 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 5.6 (1) | 100.0 (18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 7.4 (4) | 42.6 (23) | 24.1 (13) | 16.7 (9) | 1.9 (1) | 7.4 (4) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (54) |
| Gambhoi | 0.0 (0) | 42.9 (6) | 42.9 (6) | 14.3 (2) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (14) |
| Kamdevpur | 4.9 (2) | 43.9 (18) | 29.3 (12) | 19.5 (8) | 2.4 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (41) |
| Rampura | 0.0 (0) | 28.6 (6) | 19.1 (4) | 28.6 (6) | 9.5 (2) | 14.3 (3) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (21) |
| Sunni | 5.6 (2) | 27.8 (10) | 22.2 (8) | 22.2 (8) | 2.8 (1) | 11.1 (4) | 2.8 (1) | 5.6 (2) | 100.0 (36) |
| Total | 6.7 (66) | 44.5 (440) | 20.3 (201) | 15.3 (151) | 4.9 (48) | 4.0 (39) | 1.1 (11) | 3.2 (32) | 99.9 (988) |

Table 14
Newspaper Reading Habits

| Village | Variables | | | Total |
|-------------------|------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| | Daily | Frequently | Not Frequently | |
| Amdanga | 7.7 (3) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (39) |
| Haringhata | 27.5 (22) | 2.5 (2) | 5.0 (4) | 100.0 (80) |
| Coyalmannam | 25.3 (13) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 18.8 (15) | 2.5 (2) | 22.5 (18) | 100.0 (80) |
| Kachhona | 11.6 (8) | 0.0 (0) | 7.3 (5) | 100.0 (69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 13.8 (8) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (58) |
| Pullambadi | 6.2 (6) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (97) |
| Rupal | 25.9 (15) | 3.5 (2) | 17.2 (10) | 100.0 (58) |
| Rohat | 0.0 (0) | 1.4 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (72) |
| Rohota | 1.1 (1) | 1.1 (1) | 3.4 (3) | 100.0 (88) |
| Yelwal | 12.5 (7) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (56) |
| Kalur | 5.9 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (17) |
| Arnavali | 0.0 (0) | 5.3 (2) | 2.6 (1) | 100.0 (38) |
| Bilaspur | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 1.9 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (54) |
| Gambhoi | 7.1 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 7.1 (1) | 99.9 (14) |
| Kamdevpur | 2.4 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (42) |
| Rampura | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (21) |
| Sunni | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 5.6 (2) | 100.0 (36) |
| Total | 10.3 (102) | 1.0 (10) | 4.5 (44) | 99.9 (988) |

Table 15

Radio Listening Habits

| Village | Daily | Frequently | Variables | | Total |
|-------------------|----------|------------|----------------|------------|-----------|
| | | | Not frequently | Not at all | |
| Amdanga | 2.6(1) | 15.4(6) | 0.0(0) | 82.1(32) | 99.9(39) |
| Haringhata | 3.8(3) | 22.8(18) | 1.3(1) | 72.2(57) | 100.0(79) |
| Coyalmannam | 9.8(5) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 90.2(46) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 17.5(14) | 0.0(0) | 3.8(3) | 78.8(63) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 8.7(6) | 1.5(1) | 5.8(4) | 84.1(58) | 100.0(69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 13.8(8) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 86.2(50) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 13.4(13) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 86.6(84) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 22.4(13) | 1.7(1) | 1.7(1) | 74.1(43) | 99.9(58) |
| Rohat | 6.9(5) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 93.1(67) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 5.7(5) | 5.7(5) | 13.6(12) | 75.0(66) | 100.0(88) |
| Yelwal | 9.6(5) | 3.8(2) | 0.0(0) | 86.5(45) | 100.0(52) |
| Kalur | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(17) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 15.8(6) | 5.3(2) | 7.9(3) | 71.1(27) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 16.7(3) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 83.3(15) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 0.0(0) | 34.0(18) | 0.0(0) | 66.0(35) | 100.0(53) |
| Gambhoi | 14.3(2) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 85.7(12) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 0.0(0) | 33.3(14) | 0.0(0) | 66.7(28) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(21) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 8.3(3) | 2.8(1) | 0.0(0) | 88.9(32) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 9.4(92) | 6.9(68) | 2.4(24) | 81.30(798) | 99.9(982) |

Table 16
Visits to the Nearby City

| Village | Daily | Variables | | | Total |
|-------------------|---------|------------|---------------------|-----------|------------|
| | | Frequently | Not Fre- quently | Rarely | |
| Amdanga | 0.0(0) | 2.6(1) | 33.3(13) | 7.7(3) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 1.3(1) | 13.9(11) | 7.6(6) | 63.3(50) | 100.0(79) |
| Coyalmanam | 5.9(3) | 37.3(19) | 2.0(1) | 19.6(10) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 1.3(1) | 7.6(6) | 3.8(3) | 77.2(61) | 100.0(79) |
| Kachhona | 0.0(0) | 15.9(11) | 20.3(14) | 52.2(36) | 99.9(69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 17.2(10) | 19.0(11) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 20.6(20) | 46.4(45) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 5.2(3) | 19.0(11) | 44.8(26) | 12.1(7) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 5.6(4) | 13.9(10) | 16.7(12) | 31.9(23) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 1.1(1) | 6.8(6) | 35.2(31) | 43.2(38) | 100.0(88) |
| Yelwal | 9.1(5) | 16.4(9) | 7.3(4) | 32.7(18) | 100.0(55) |
| Kalur | 0.0(0) | 11.8(2) | 17.7(3) | 29.4(5) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 7.9(3) | 2.6(1) | 18.4(7) | 50.0(19) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 0.0(0) | 22.2(4) | 27.8(5) | 16.7(3) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 1.9(1) | 3.7(2) | 14.8(8) | 64.8(35) | 99.9(54) |
| Gambhoi | 7.1(1) | 7.1(1) | 14.3(2) | 42.9(6) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 7.1(3) | 14.3(6) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 0.0(0) | 4.8(1) | 28.6(6) | 42.9(9) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 2.8(1) | 5.6(2) | 16.7(6) | 61.1(22) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 2.4(24) | 9.9(97) | 18.3(180) | 41.3(407) | 100.0(985) |

Table 17
Visits to Nearby Market

| Village | Daily | Variables | | | Total |
|-------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|-----------|------------|
| | | Frequently | Not Fre- quently | Rarely | |
| Amdanga | 0.0(0) | 66.7(26) | 20.5(8) | 10.3(4) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 1.3(1) | 48.1(38) | 45.6(39) | 1.3(1) | 100.0(79) |
| Coyalmanam | 0.0(0) | 70.6(36) | 0.0(0) | 3.9(2) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 2.5(2) | 21.3(17) | 13.8(11) | 40.0(32) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 49.3(34) | 30.4(21) | 8.7(6) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 43.1(25) | 6.9(4) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 1.0(1) | 0.0(0) | 15.5(15) | 43.3(42) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 75.9(44) | 1.7(1) | 3.5(2) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(38) |
| Rohat | 86.1(62) | 4.2(3) | 5.8(4) | 2.8(2) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 92.1(81) | 2.3(2) | 100.0(88) |
| Yelwal | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 3.9(2) | 5.9(1) | 100.0(51) |
| Kalur | 0.0(0) | 11.8(2) | 5.9(1) | 70.6(12) | 99.9(17) |
| Arnavali | 0.0(0) | 5.3(2) | 5.3(2) | 50.0(19) | 99.9(38) |
| Bilaspur | 6.3(1) | 43.8(7) | 0.0(0) | 12.5(2) | 100.0(16) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 1.9(1) | 48.2(26) | 50.0(27) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 78.6(11) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 0.0(0) | 69.1(26) | 19.1(8) | 7.1(3) | 100.0(52) |
| Rampura | 66.7(14) | 14.3(3) | 9.5(2) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 2.8(1) | 44.4(16) | 30.6(11) | 4.8(1) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 17.6(172) | 23.2(227) | 24.6(241) | 11.3(111) | 100.0(980) |

Table 18

Visits to Nearby Villages

| Village | Daily | Very frequently | Variables | | Rarely | Never | Total |
|-------------------|---------|-----------------|------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | | | Frequently | Not frequently | | | |
| Amdanga | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 64.1(25) | 7.7(3) | 28.2(11) | 0.0(0) | 99.9(39) |
| Haringhata | 0.0(0) | 2.5(2) | 46.8(37) | 26.6(21) | 12.7(10) | 11.4(9) | 100.0(79) |
| Coyalmannam | 2.0(1) | 2.0(1) | 7.8(4) | 0.0(0) | 11.8(6) | 76.5(39) | 99.9(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 3.8(3) | 7.5(6) | 37.5(30) | 2.5(2) | 40.0(32) | 8.8(7) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 4.4(3) | 8.7(6) | 30.4(21) | 42.0(29) | 8.7(6) | 5.8(4) | 100.1(69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 8.6(5) | 8.6(5) | 82.8(48) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 4.2(4) | 46.9(45) | 49.0(47) | 100.0(96) |
| Rupal | 5.2(3) | 10.3(6) | 24.1(14) | 37.9(22) | 15.5(9) | 6.9(4) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 11.1(8) | 13.9(10) | 20.8(15) | 20.8(15) | 20.5(2) | 30.6(22) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 1.1(1) | 9.1(8) | 18.2(16) | 20.5(18) | 42.1(37) | 9.1(8) | 100.0(88) |
| Yelwal | 0.0(0) | 3.6(2) | 5.5(3) | 20.0(11) | 25.5(14) | 45.5(25) | 99.9(55) |
| Kalur | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 23.5(4) | 17.7(3) | 58.8(10) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 50.0(19) | 2.6(1) | 36.8(14) | 10.5(4) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 0.0(0) | 16.7(3) | 27.8(5) | 27.8(5) | 16.7(3) | 11.1(2) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Dattapara | 1.9(1) | 0.0(0) | 81.5(44) | 13.0(7) | 3.7(2) | 0.0(0) | 99.9(54) |
| Gambhoi | 7.1(1) | 14.3(2) | 28.6(4) | 0.0(0) | 28.6(4) | 21.4(3) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 0.0(0) | 2.4(1) | 81.0(34) | 11.9(5) | 4.8(2) | 0.0(0) | 99.9(42) |
| Rampura | 0.0(0) | 15.5(3) | 55.0(11) | 30.0(6) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(20) |
| Sunni | 0.0(0) | 39.9(5) | 55.6(20) | 25.0(9) | 2.8(1) | 2.8(1) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 2.1(21) | 5.6(55) | 30.7(302) | 17.0(167) | 20.9(206) | 23.7(233) | 99.9(984) |

TABLES

Table 19

Knowledge About Community Development Programme

| Village | Variables | | Total |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| | Do not know or of no use | They come of some use | |
| Amdanga | 89.7(35) | 10.3(4) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 98.8(79) | 1.3(1) | 100.0(80) |
| Coyalmannam | 100.0(51) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(1) |
| Jadigenhalli | 84.0(63) | 16.0(18) | 100.0(75) |
| Kachhona | 100.0(70) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(70) |
| Pazhambalakode | 100.0(50) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 96.9(93) | 3.1(3) | 100.0(96) |
| Rupal | 67.2(39) | 32.8(19) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 79.2(57) | 28.8(15) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 86.7(78) | 13.3(12) | 100.0(90) |
| Yelwal | 72.7(40) | 27.3(15) | 100.0(55) |
| Kalur | 38.2(15) | 11.8(2) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 78.9(30) | 21.1(8) | 99.9(38) |
| Bilaspur | 100.0(18) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Dattapara | 82.7(43) | 17.3(9) | 100.0(52) |
| Gambhoi | 85.7(12) | 14.3(2) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 90.5(38) | 9.5(4) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 90.5(19) | 9.5(2) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 91.7(33) | 8.3(3) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 88.7(871) | 11.3(111) | 100.0(982) |

Table 20
Participation in Co-operatives

| Village | Variables | | Total |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | Yes | No | |
| Amdanga | 28.2(11) | 71.8(28) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 31.7(25) | 68.4(54) | 100.0(79) |
| Coyalmannam | 17.7(9) | 82.4(42) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 32.5(26) | 67.5(54) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 30.4(21) | 69.6(48) | 100.0(69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 13.8(8) | 86.2(50) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 20.6(20) | 79.4(77) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 20.7(12) | 79.3(46) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 76.4(55) | 23.6(17) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 18.2(16) | 81.8(72) | 100.0(88) |
| Yelwal | 56.6(30) | 43.4(23) | 100.0(53) |
| Kalur | 76.5(13) | 23.5(4) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 29.0(11) | 71.1(27) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 50.0(9) | 50.0(9) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 50.0(27) | 50.0(27) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 14.3(2) | 85.7(12) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 35.7(15) | 64.3(27) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 61.9(13) | 38.1(8) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 25.0(9) | 75.0(27) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 33.7(332) | 66.3(652) | 100.0(904) |

Table 21
Consumption of Alcohol

| Village | Variables | | | | Total |
|-------------------|-----------|--------------|----------|----------|------------|
| | Never | Occasionally | Often | Daily | |
| Amdanga | 97.4(38) | 2.6(1) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 89.8(71) | 3.8(3) | 1.3(1) | 5.1(4) | 100.0(79) |
| Coyalmannam | 37.3(19) | 37.3(19) | 0.0(0) | 25.5(13) | 99.9(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 75.0(60) | 3.8(3) | 15.0(12) | 6.3(5) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 63.8(44) | 36.2(25) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 27.6(16) | 15.5(9) | 10.3(6) | 46.5(27) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 30.9(30) | 52.6(51) | 1.0(1) | 15.5(15) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 82.8(48) | 8.6(5) | 8.6(5) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 84.7(61) | 6.9(5) | 8.3(6) | 0.0(0) | 99.9(72) |
| Rohota | 88.6(78) | 11.4(10) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(88) |
| Yelwal | 83.9(47) | 8.9(5) | 5.4(3) | 1.8(1) | 100.0(56) |
| Kalur | 58.8(10) | 41.2(7) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 81.6(31) | 2.6(1) | 13.2(5) | 2.6(1) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 88.9(16) | 11.1(2) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 90.7(49) | 5.6(3) | 1.9(1) | 1.9(1) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 100.0(14) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 51.2(21) | 4.9(2) | 34.2(14) | 9.8(4) | 100.0(41) |
| Rampura | 66.7(14) | 19.0(4) | 14.3(3) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 80.6(29) | 19.4(7) | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 70.6(696) | 16.4(162) | 5.8(57) | 7.2(71) | 100.0(986) |

Table 22

Knowledge About Village Panchayat Members

| Village | Variables | | Total |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------|------------|
| | Yes/All/Few | No | |
| Amdanga | 100.0(39) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 96.3(77) | 3.8(3) | 100.0(80) |
| Coyalmannam | 35.3(18) | 64.7(33) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 98.8(79) | 1.3(1) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 82.6(57) | 17.4(12) | 100.0(69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 25.9(15) | 74.1(43) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 93.8(91) | 6.2(6) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 100.0(58) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 98.6(71) | 1.4(1) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 100.0(87) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(87) |
| Yelwal | 85.7(48) | 14.3(8) | 100.0(56) |
| Kalur | 84.6(22) | 15.4(4) | 100.0(26) |
| Arnavali | 86.8(33) | 13.2(5) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 100.0(18) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 100.0(54) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 100.0(14) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 97.6(41) | 2.4(1) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 100.0(21) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 72.2(26) | 27.8(10) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 87.1(859) | 12.9(127) | 100.0(986) |

Table 23

Knowledge About Local Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA)

| Village | Variables | | Total |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | Yes | No | |
| Amdanga | 74.4(29) | 25.6(10) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 61.3(49) | 38.8(31) | 100.0(80) |
| Coyalmannam | 27.5(14) | 72.6(37) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 85.0(68) | 15.0(12) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 87.0(60) | 13.0(9) | 100.0(69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 20.7(12) | 79.3(46) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 66.0(64) | 34.0(33) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 86.2(50) | 13.8(8) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 86.1(62) | 13.9(10) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 65.5(57) | 34.5(30) | 100.0(87) |
| Yelwal | 63.6(35) | 36.4(20) | 100.0(55) |
| Kalur | 88.2(15) | 11.8(2) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 63.2(24) | 36.8(14) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 61.1(11) | 38.9(7) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 42.6(23) | 57.4(31) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 92.9(13) | 7.1(1) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 58.5(24) | 41.5(17) | 100.0(41) |
| Rampura | 71.4(15) | 28.6(6) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 50.0(18) | 50.0(18) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 65.3(643) | 34.7(342) | 100.0(985) |

Table 24
Knowledge about Local Member of
Parliament (MP)

| Village | Variables | | Total |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | Yes | No | |
| Amdanga | 2.6(1) | 97.4(37) | 100.0(38) |
| Haringhata | 13.9(11) | 86.1(68) | 100.0(79) |
| Coyalmannam | 9.8(5) | 90.2(46) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 83.8(67) | 16.3(13) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 75.4(52) | 24.6(17) | 100.0(69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 19.0(11) | 81.0(47) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 62.9(61) | 37.1(36) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 79.3(46) | 20.7(12) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 81.9(59) | 18.1(13) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 58.6(51) | 41.4(36) | 100.0(87) |
| Yelwal | 55.6(30) | 44.4(24) | 100.0(54) |
| Kalur | 58.8(10) | 41.2(7) | 100.0(17) |
| Arnavali | 52.6(20) | 47.4(18) | 100.0(38) |
| Bailaspur | 38.9(7) | 61.1(11) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 7.4(4) | 92.6(50) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 57.1(8) | 42.9(6) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 4.8(2) | 95.2(40) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 71.4(15) | 28.6(6) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 44.4(16) | 55.6(20) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 48.4(476) | 51.6(507) | 100.0(983) |

Table 25
Voting Behaviour in Panchayat Elections

| Village | Not registered | Variables | | Total |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|------------|
| | | Did not vote | Voted acquaintance/whom told to vote | |
| Amdanga | 0.0(0) | 5.1(2) | 94.9(37) | 100.0(39) |
| Haringhata | 5.0(4) | 11.3(9) | 83.8(67) | 100.0(80) |
| Coyalmannam | 0.0(0) | 11.8(6) | 88.2(45) | 100.0(51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 98.8(79) | 1.3(1) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(80) |
| Kachhona | 5.7(4) | 0.0(0) | 94.3(66) | 100.0(70) |
| Pazhambalakode | 0.0(0) | 5.2(3) | 94.8(55) | 100.0(58) |
| Pullambadi | 0.0(0) | 34.0(33) | 66.0(64) | 100.0(97) |
| Rupal | 3.5(2) | 29.3(17) | 67.2(39) | 100.0(58) |
| Rohat | 5.6(4) | 16.7(12) | 77.8(56) | 100.0(72) |
| Rohota | 14.6(13) | 0.0(0) | 85.4(76) | 100.0(89) |
| Yelwal | 58.9(33) | 14.3(8) | 26.8(15) | 100.0(56) |
| Kalur | 82.4(14) | 11.8(2) | 5.9(1) | 99.9(17) |
| Arnavali | 5.3(2) | 0.0(0) | 94.7(36) | 100.0(38) |
| Bilaspur | 0.0(0) | 11.1(2) | 88.9(16) | 100.0(18) |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(54) | 100.0(54) |
| Gambhoi | 0.0(0) | 0.0(0) | 100.0(14) | 100.0(14) |
| Kamdevpur | 4.8(2) | 2.4(1) | 92.9(39) | 100.0(42) |
| Rampura | 0.0(0) | 47.6(10) | 52.4(11) | 100.0(21) |
| Sunni | 2.8(1) | 0.0(0) | 97.2(35) | 100.0(36) |
| Total | 16.0(158) | 10.7(106) | 73.3(726) | 100.0(990) |

Table 26
Voting Behaviour During the Last Elections to State Legislatures

| Village | Variables | | | | | CPI & others | Forward Block | Total |
|----------------|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| | Refused information not voted | Not listed voted | Voted for acquittance as told | Congress | CPI-M | | | |
| Amdanga | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 71.8 (28) | 7.7 (3) | 2.6 (1) | 17.9 (7) | 100.0 (39) |
| Haringhata | 8.9 (7) | 6.3 (5) | 0.0 (0) | 60.8 (48) | 12.7 (10) | 11.4 (9) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (79) |
| Coyalmannam | 0.0 (0) | 2.0 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 51.0 (26) | 47.1 (24) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (51) |
| Jadigenhalli | 6.4 (5) | 2.6 (2) | 0.0 (0) | 91.0 (71) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (78) |
| Kachhona | 0.0 (0) | 5.8 (4) | 1.5 (1) | 82.6 (57) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (69) |
| Pazhambalakode | 0.0 (0) | 5.2 (3) | 0.0 (0) | 13.8 (8) | 81.0 (47) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (58) |
| Pullambadi | 1.2 (1) | 45.7 (43) | 0.0 (0) | 51.1 (48) | 0.0 (0) | 2.1 (2) | 4.0 (0) | 100.0 (94) |
| Rupal | 12.1 (7) | 29.3 (17) | 0.0 (0) | 56.9 (33) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (58) |
| Rohat | 0.0 (0) | 11.1 (8) | 0.0 (0) | 83.3 (60) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (72) |

(Contd.)

TABLE

TABLE 26 (Contd.)

| Village | Refused information | Not listed Not voted | Voted for acquittance as told | Congress | CPI-M | Jana Sangh | CPI & others | Forward Block | Total |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Rohota | 0.0 (0) | 13.6 (12) | 34.1 (30) | 52.3 (46) | 00.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (88) |
| Yelwal | 24.1 (13) | 18.5 (10) | 0.0 (0) | 53.7 (29) | 0.0 (0) | 1.9 (1) | 1.9 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 99.9 (54) |
| Katur | 11.8 (2) | 23.5 (4) | 0.0 (0) | 58.8 (10) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 5.9 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 99.9 (17) |
| Arnavali | 0.0 (0) | 7.9 (3) | 2.6 (1) | 89.5 (34) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (38) |
| Bilaspur | 33.3 (6) | 27.8 (5) | 0.0 (0) | 38.9 (7) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (18) |
| Dakshin Dattapara | 1.9 (1) | 3.7 (2) | 0.0 (0) | 57.4 (31) | 35.2 (19) | 0.0 (0) | 1.9 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (54) |
| Gambhoi | 64.3 (9) | 7.1 (1) | 21.4 (3) | 7.1 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (14) |
| Kamdevpur | 0.0 (0) | 2.4 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 51.2 (21) | 4.9 (2) | 0.0 (0) | 26.8 (11) | 14.6 (6) | 100.0 (41) |
| Rampura | 0.0 (0) | 4.8 (1) | 66.7 (14) | 23.8 (5) | 0.0 (0) | 4.8 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (21) |
| Sunni | 2.8 (1) | 5.6 (2) | 0.0 (0) | 88.9 (32) | 0.0 (0) | 2.8 (1) | 0.0 (0) | 0.0 (0) | 100.0 (36) |
| Total | 5.3 (52) | 12.7 (124) | 5.0 (49) | 60.8 (595) | 10.7 (105) | 1.5 (15) | 2.7 (26) | 1.3 (13) | 100.0 (979) |

Table 27
Summary of the General Background (in per cent)

| Village | Brick house | With latrine | Variables | | | Listen radio | Read news- papers | Knowledge of community development |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|------------|------------|--------------|----------------------|--|
| | | | With Electri- city | Have radio | Have radio | | | |
| Amdanga | 5.1 | 12.8 | 0.0 | 23.0 | 17.9 | 7.7 | 10.3 | |
| Haringhata | 5.0 | 45.0 | 1.3 | 30.0 | 27.8 | 35.0 | 1.3 | |
| Coyalmannam | 54.9 | 10.0 | 51.0 | 17.0 | 9.8 | 25.5 | 0.0 | |
| Jadigenhalli | 85.0 | 10.0 | 21.5 | 17.0 | 21.2 | 43.7 | 16.0 | |
| Kachhona | 12.9 | 12.9 | 12.9 | 10.0 | 15.9 | 18.8 | 0.0 | |
| Pazhambalakode | 20.7 | 10.5 | 19.0 | 13.8 | 13.8 | 13.8 | 0.0 | |
| Pullambadi | 25.8 | 7.2 | 33.7 | 18.0 | 13.4 | 6.2 | 3.1 | |
| Rupal | 13.8 | 3.5 | 51.7 | 16.0 | 25.9 | 46.5 | 32.8 | |
| Rohat | 2.8 | 2.8 | 0.0 | 6.0 | 6.9 | 1.4 | 20.8 | |
| Rohota | 21.1 | 17.8 | 15.6 | 28.0 | 25.0 | 5.7 | 13.3 | |
| Yelwal | 41.8 | 14.5 | 41.0 | 21.0 | 13.5 | 12.5 | 27.3 | |
| Kalur | 41.2 | 0.0 | 29.4 | 6.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 11.8 | |
| Arnavali | 34.2 | 2.6 | 13.2 | 29.0 | 18.9 | 7.9 | 21.1 | |
| Bilaspur | 61.1 | 5.6 | 27.8 | 11.0 | 16.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 3.7 | 3.7 | 1.9 | 33.0 | 34.0 | 1.8 | 13.3 | |
| Gambhoi | 14.3 | 0.0 | 21.4 | 7.0 | 14.3 | 14.3 | 14.3 | |
| Kamdevpur | 9.5 | 7.3 | 9.5 | 38.0 | 33.7 | 2.4 | 9.5 | |
| Rampura | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 9.5 | |
| Sunni | 0.0 | 2.8 | 0.0 | 11.0 | 11.1 | 5.6 | 8.3 | |
| Total | 24.1 | 12.1 | 18.8 | 19.0 | 18.7 | 15.8 | 11.3 | |

Table 28

Summary of Social Background (in per cent)

| Village | Harijans | Muslims | Variables | | | |
|-------------------|----------|---------|------------------------|---------|---------|----------------|
| | | | Non-agri. labourers | Traders | Service | Never drink |
| Amdanga | 12.8 | 48.7 | 28.2 | 10.3 | 10.3 | 97.4 |
| Haringhata | 22.5 | 12.5 | 26.3 | 20.0 | 32.5 | 89.8 |
| Coyalmannam | 15.6 | 13.7 | 25.5 | 11.8 | 11.8 | 37.3 |
| Jadigenhalli | 17.5 | 3.8 | 23.8 | 13.8 | 16.3 | 75.0 |
| Kachhona | 24.3 | 18.6 | 5.8 | 33.3 | 5.8 | 63.8 |
| Pazhambalakode | 8.6 | 17.2 | 32.8 | 6.9 | 5.2 | 27.6 |
| Pullambadi | 17.5 | 5.2 | 42.2 | 9.3 | 7.2 | 30.9 |
| Rupal | 19.0 | 3.4 | 20.7 | 12.0 | 15.5 | 82.8 |
| Rohat | 20.8 | 19.4 | 22.2 | 11.1 | 12.5 | 84.7 |
| Rohota | 30.0 | 14.4 | 21.1 | 13.3 | 2.2 | 88.6 |
| Yelwal | 19.6 | 5.4 | 8.9 | 8.9 | 17.9 | 83.9 |
| Kalur | 6.3 | 0.0 | 23.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 58.8 |
| Arnavali | 44.7 | 10.5 | 39.5 | 0.0 | 5.3 | 81.6 |
| Bilaspur | 7.1 | 0.0 | 27.8 | 5.6 | 0.0 | 88.9 |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 7.4 | 0.0 | 40.4 | 7.7 | 0.0 | 90.7 |
| Gambhoi | 14.3 | 7.1 | 0.0 | 7.1 | 7.1 | 100.0 |
| Kamdevpur | 0.0 | 0.0 | 23.8 | 9.5 | 2.4 | 51.2 |
| Rampura | 33.3 | 0.0 | 24.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 66.7 |
| Sunni | 33.3 | 2.8 | 5.6 | 2.8 | 0.0 | 80.6 |
| Total | 19.3 | 10.5 | 23.9 | 11.7 | 9.8 | 70.6 |

Table 29
Summary of Economic & Demographic Background (in per cent)

| Village | Hunger fully satisfied | More than 3 acres | | | Variables | | | More than 3 children | | | Never visited | | | Never visited | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|----------|----------|---------------------------|--------------|------|----------------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------|-----------|---------------|---------------|------|
| | | land | wet land | dry land | No land/less than 5 acres | Child deaths | born | ed city | ed market | other village | co-operatives | ed city | ed market | other village | co-operatives | |
| Amdanga | 41.0 | 7.7 | 76.9 | 51.3 | 71.7 | 56.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 28.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 28.2 |
| Haringhata | 38.8 | 0.0 | 97.5 | 47.5 | 59.9 | 12.7 | 3.8 | 3.8 | 11.4 | 11.4 | 31.7 | 3.8 | 11.4 | 11.4 | 31.7 | 31.7 |
| Coyalmannam | 39.2 | 2.0 | 62.8 | 49.0 | 77.3 | 33.3 | 23.5 | 23.5 | 76.5 | 76.5 | 17.7 | 23.5 | 76.5 | 76.5 | 17.7 | 17.7 |
| Jadigenhalli | 67.5 | 7.5 | 41.3 | 60.0 | 77.9 | 1.3 | 18.8 | 18.8 | 8.8 | 8.8 | 32.5 | 18.8 | 8.8 | 8.8 | 32.5 | 32.5 |
| Kachhona | 55.1 | 5.7 | 67.1 | 65.8 | 71.5 | 10.1 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 5.8 | 5.8 | 30.4 | 1.5 | 5.8 | 5.8 | 30.4 | 30.4 |
| Pazhambalakode | 13.8 | 10.3 | 82.8 | 51.7 | 72.4 | 63.8 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 82.8 | 82.8 | 3.8 | 50.0 | 82.8 | 82.8 | 3.8 | 3.8 |
| Pullambadi | 29.9 | 5.2 | 82.5 | 28.1 | 79.4 | 32.0 | 40.2 | 40.2 | 49.0 | 49.0 | 20.6 | 40.2 | 49.0 | 49.0 | 20.6 | 20.6 |
| Rupal | 77.6 | 22.4 | 56.9 | 36.8 | 66.1 | 25.0 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 6.9 | 6.9 | 20.7 | 2.8 | 6.9 | 6.9 | 20.7 | 20.7 |
| Rohota | 75.0 | 12.5 | 40.3 | 45.8 | 62.6 | 6.8 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 30.6 | 30.6 | 76.4 | 2.3 | 30.6 | 30.6 | 76.4 | 76.4 |
| Yelwal | 70.1 | 32.2 | 51.1 | 46.7 | 61.1 | 6.8 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 9.1 | 9.1 | 18.2 | 2.3 | 9.1 | 9.1 | 18.2 | 18.2 |
| Kalur | 25.0 | 1.8 | 83.9 | 31.2 | 61.6 | 20.0 | 90.2 | 90.2 | 45.5 | 45.5 | 56.6 | 90.2 | 45.5 | 45.5 | 56.6 | 56.6 |
| Arnavali | 11.8 | 0.0 | 64.7 | 23.5 | 64.6 | 23.5 | 70.6 | 70.6 | 58.8 | 58.8 | 76.5 | 70.6 | 58.8 | 58.8 | 76.5 | 76.5 |
| Bilasur | 47.4 | 36.8 | 63.2 | 68.4 | 81.6 | 7.9 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 10.5 | 10.5 | 28.0 | 50.0 | 10.5 | 10.5 | 28.0 | 28.0 |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 72.2 | 50.0 | 44.4 | 50.0 | 32.2 | 16.7 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 11.1 | 11.1 | 50.0 | 12.5 | 11.1 | 11.1 | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| Gambhoi | 77.8 | 11.1 | 81.5 | 50.0 | 51.8 | 13.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| Kandeypur | 71.4 | 14.3 | 42.9 | 57.1 | 70.4 | 0.0 | 7.1 | 7.1 | 21.4 | 21.4 | 14.3 | 7.1 | 21.4 | 21.4 | 14.3 | 14.3 |
| Rampura | 59.5 | 7.1 | 66.7 | 51.2 | 66.7 | 71.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 35.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 35.7 | 35.7 |
| Sunni | 66.7 | 57.1 | 19.1 | 71.4 | 80.9 | 19.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 61.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 61.9 | 61.9 |
| Total | 61.1 | 11.1 | 22.2 | 65.6 | 74.9 | 11.1 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 25.0 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 25.0 | 25.0 |
| | 52.3 | 12.8 | 64.2 | 48.8 | 68.0 | 22.6 | 18.8 | 18.8 | 23.7 | 23.7 | 33.7 | 18.8 | 23.7 | 23.7 | 33.7 | 33.7 |

Table 30
Summary of Political Background (in per cent)

| Village | Variables | | | | | Know M.L.A. Know M.P. | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------|--|--|
| | Voted Congress | Voted CPI-M | Did not vote in state elec. | Did not vote in state elec. | Did not vote in Panch. elec. | Know Panch. Member | Know M.L.A. | Know M.P. | | |
| Amdanga | 71.8 | 7.7 | 0.0 | 5.1 | 100.0 | 74.4 | 2.6 | 2.6 | | |
| Haringhata | 60.8 | 12.7 | 6.3 | 11.3 | 96.3 | 61.3 | 13.9 | 13.9 | | |
| Coyalmannam | 51.0 | 47.1 | 2.0 | 11.8 | 35.3 | 27.5 | 9.8 | 9.8 | | |
| Jadigenhalli | 91.0 | 0.0 | 2.6 | 1.3 | 98.8 | 85.0 | 83.8 | 83.8 | | |
| Kachhona | 82.6 | 0.0 | 5.8 | 0.0 | 82.6 | 87.0 | 75.4 | 75.4 | | |
| Pazhambalakode | 13.8 | 81.0 | 5.2 | 5.2 | 25.9 | 20.7 | 19.0 | 19.0 | | |
| Pullambadi | 51.1 | 0.0 | 45.7 | 34.0 | 93.8 | 66.0 | 62.9 | 62.9 | | |
| Rupal | 56.9 | 0.0 | 29.3 | 29.3 | 100.0 | 86.2 | 79.3 | 79.3 | | |
| Rohat | 83.3 | 0.0 | 11.1 | 16.7 | 98.6 | 86.1 | 81.9 | 81.9 | | |
| Rohota | 52.3 | 0.0 | 13.6 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 65.5 | 58.6 | 58.6 | | |
| Yelwal | 53.7 | 0.0 | 18.5 | 14.3 | 85.7 | 63.6 | 55.6 | 55.6 | | |
| Kalur | 58.8 | 0.0 | 23.5 | 11.8 | 84.6 | 88.2 | 58.8 | 58.8 | | |
| Arnavali | 89.5 | 0.0 | 7.9 | 0.0 | 86.8 | 63.2 | 52.6 | 52.6 | | |
| Bilasur | 38.9 | 0.0 | 27.8 | 11.1 | 100.0 | 61.1 | 38.9 | 38.9 | | |
| Dakshin Duttapara | 57.4 | 35.2 | 3.7 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 42.6 | 7.4 | 7.4 | | |
| Gambhoi | 7.1 | 0.0 | 7.1 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 92.9 | 57.1 | 57.1 | | |
| Kandeypur | 51.2 | 4.9 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 97.6 | 58.5 | 4.8 | 4.8 | | |
| Rampura | 23.8 | 0.0 | 4.8 | 47.6 | 100.0 | 71.4 | 71.4 | 71.4 | | |
| Sunni | 88.9 | 0.0 | 5.6 | 0.0 | 72.2 | 50.0 | 44.4 | 44.4 | | |
| Total | 60.8 | 10.7 | 12.7 | 10.7 | 87.1 | 65.3 | 48.4 | 48.4 | | |

Table 31
Caste and Religion

| Variables | Harijans | Backward castes | Other cultivators | Trading caste | Brahmins | Muslims | Total |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Total | 19.7 (229.1) | 18.1 (209.8) | 30.6 (355.7) | 12.5 (145.6) | 7.9 (91.6) | 11.2 (129.8) | 99.9 (1161.6) |
| Hungry | 29.5 (130.7) | 15.0 (66.2) | 24.6 (108.9) | 15.9 (70.4) | 3.2 (14.0) | 11.8 (52.4) | 100.0 (442.6) |
| Poor labourers | 33.5 (183.2) | 20.0 (109.2) | 25.3 (138.6) | 10.2 (56.0) | 0.7 (3.7) | 10.3 (56.0) | 100.0 (547.0) |
| Harijans | 100.0 (229.1) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (229.1) |
| Backward castes | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (209.8) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (209.8) |
| Service and trade | 5.2 (11.2) | 11.3 (24.6) | 25.5 (55.4) | 22.7 (49.3) | 13.2 (28.7) | 22.1 (48.0) | 100.0 (217.2) |
| More than 3 acres wet land | 5.4 (9.3) | 14.3 (24.4) | 46.3 (79.1) | 12.1 (20.6) | 17.1 (29.3) | 4.8 (8.2) | 99.9 (170.9) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 11.0 (15.9) | 25.8 (37.3) | 33.5 (48.4) | 9.5 (13.7) | 14.5 (21.0) | 5.7 (8.3) | 99.9 (144.6) |
| More than 5 acres dry land | 11.6 (9.5) | 17.5 (14.3) | 41.8 (34.2) | 7.3 (6.0) | 10.9 (8.9) | 11.0 (9.0) | 100.0 (81.9) |

Table 32
Degree of Hunger Satisfaction

| Variables | Fully satisfied | Not for one month or less | Not for 3 months | Not for 6 months | Not for six months | Irregular | Total |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Total | 48.5 (560.4) | 1.0 (1.0) | 8.7 (100.8) | 33.3 (384.6) | 5.0 (57.2) | 3.6 (41.8) | 100.0 (1155.8) |
| Hungry | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 87.1 (384.6) | 13.0 (57.2) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (441.8) |
| Poor labourers | 9.8 (53.0) | 1.7 (9.0) | 14.5 (75.9) | 59.0 (318.2) | 9.9 (53.2) | 5.7 (30.5) | 100.0 (559.1) |
| Harijans | 18.1 (41.1) | 1.6 (3.7) | 14.8 (33.7) | 49.3 (111.9) | 8.3 (18.8) | 7.9 (17.9) | 100.0 (227.1) |
| Backward castes | 54.5 (112.1) | 0.5 (1.0) | 9.3 (9.2) | 28.4 (58.4) | 3.8 (7.7) | 3.5 (7.2) | 100.0 (205.6) |
| Service and trade | 70.3 (152.6) | 0.9 (2.0) | 8.2 (17.9) | 18.1 (39.4) | 0.0 (0.0) | 2.4 (5.3) | 100.0 (217.2) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 97.3 (166.5) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.6 (1.0) | 2.1 (3.6) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 99.9 (171.1) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 90.3 (130.8) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.7 (1.0) | 7.6 (11.6) | 0.7 (1.0) | 0.7 (1.0) | 100.0 (144.8) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 69.4 (57.5) | 0.0 (0.0) | 6.0 (5.0) | 15.0 (12.0) | 3.6 (3.0) | 6.0 (5.0) | 100.0 (82.9) |

Table 33
Pattern of Landholdings

| Variables | No land 5 Acres of dry land | >5 acres dry land | <1 acres wet land with or without some dry land | 1 to 3 acres wet land with or without dry land | > 3 acres wet with or without some dry land | Total |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|--|---|---|-------------------|
| Total | 64.7 (752.5) | 4.5 (52.1) | 6.0 (69.3) | 10.1 (117.6) | 14.7 (171.0) | 100.0 (1162.5) |
| Hungry | 89.5 (395.3) | 2.0 (9.0) | 4.1 (18.2) | 3.5 (15.6) | 0.8 (3.6) | 100.0 (441.7) |
| Poor landless | 86.9 (597.9) | 0.0 (-7.0) | 4.0 (27.7) | 9.1 (62.6) | 0.0 (-20.5) | 100.0 (688.2) |
| Poor labourers | 81.6 (186.8) | 2.6 (6.0) | 5.8 (13.3) | 5.9 (13.4) | 4.1 (9.3) | 99.9 (228.8) |
| Harijans | 60.1 (125.9) | 2.8 (5.8) | 10.6 (22.1) | 15.0 (31.4) | 11.6 (24.3) | 100.0 (209.5) |
| Backward castes | 71.3 (154.6) | 3.2 (7.0) | 4.9 (10.7) | 11.1 (24.1) | 9.5 (20.5) | 100.0 (216.9) |
| Service and trade | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (171.0) | 100.0 (171.0) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (30.9) |
| 1 to 3 acres of wet land | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (30.9) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 0.0 (0.0) | 62.8 (52.1) | 37.2 (30.9) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (83.0) |

Table 34
Occupations

| Variable | Agriculture | Trade | Service | Artisans | Labourers and others | Total |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Total | 39.8 (461.4) | 10.8 (125.8) | 7.9 (91.4) | 16.2 (187.8) | 25.4 (294.2) | 100.0 (1160.6) |
| Hungry | 24.9 (109.6) | 5.9 (25.9) | 3.1 (13.5) | 23.0 (101.5) | 43.2 (190.3) | 100.0 (440.8) |
| Poor labourers | 26.1 (156.0) | 0.0 (-25.1) | 0.0 (-28.2) | 27.7 (165.8) | 46.3 (276.9) | 100.0 (598.7) |
| Harijans | 29.6 (67.8) | 1.4 (3.3) | 3.4 (7.8) | 13.9 (31.8) | 51.7 (118.3) | 100.0 (229.0) |
| Backward castes | 30.1 (61.8) | 6.4 (13.1) | 5.5 (11.4) | 27.8 (57.1) | 30.3 (62.2) | 99.9 (205.6) |
| Service and trade | 0.0 (0.0) | 57.9 (125.8) | 42.1 (91.4) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (217.2) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 85.9 (146.9) | 7.7 (13.1) | 4.3 (7.4) | 1.2 (2.0) | 0.9 (1.6) | 100.0 (171.0) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 72.2 (104.4) | 5.7 (8.2) | 11.4 (16.5) | 5.4 (7.8) | 5.3 (7.7) | 100.0 (144.6) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 65.7 (54.1) | 4.6 (3.8) | 5.2 (4.3) | 14.8 (12.2) | 9.7 (8.0) | 100.0 (82.4) |

Table 35
Number of Children Born

| Variables | Total | Hungry | Poor labourers | Harijans | Backward castes | Service and trade | > 3 acres wet lands | 1 to 3 acres wet land | > 5 acres dry land |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| No birth | 6.3 (72.7) | 5.6 (24.8) | 7.4 (40.3) | 7.5 (17.1) | 6.8 (14.3) | 6.9 (15.0) | 6.9 (11.8) | 1.8 (2.6) | 3.6 (3.0) |
| One born | 5.6 (65.1) | 2.3 (10.3) | 4.3 (23.5) | 4.0 (9.2) | 6.6 (13.7) | 6.7 (14.6) | 4.1 (6.9) | 6.7 (9.7) | 12.6 (10.4) |
| Two born | 6.8 (79.3) | 7.1 (31.2) | 9.2 (50.4) | 6.5 (14.8) | 10.2 (21.4) | 6.6 (14.2) | 4.5 (7.7) | 2.1 (3.0) | 4.8 (4.0) |
| Three born | 11.6 (135.3) | 10.3 (45.3) | 12.0 (65.9) | 15.0 (34.3) | 15.0 (30.6) | 11.2 (24.3) | 10.4 (17.8) | 13.2 (19.0) | 10.0 (8.3) |
| Four born | 13.6 (158.4) | 14.7 (64.7) | 15.0 (82.0) | 13.1 (30.0) | 13.2 (27.6) | 15.4 (33.5) | 12.4 (21.1) | 9.6 (13.9) | 9.5 (7.9) |
| Five born | 14.6 (169.2) | 19.3 (85.4) | 15.7 (86.2) | 12.7 (29.0) | 12.2 (25.6) | 11.6 (25.1) | 16.2 (27.6) | 15.5 (21.7) | 10.4 (8.6) |
| Six born | 12.9 (149.9) | 12.6 (55.6) | 10.7 (58.7) | 12.4 (28.4) | 9.9 (20.7) | 14.9 (32.4) | 13.4 (22.9) | 18.0 (26.0) | 12.0 (9.9) |
| Seven born | 8.2 (95.6) | 7.6 (33.6) | 8.7 (47.8) | 5.3 (12.2) | 7.2 (15.1) | 7.6 (16.5) | 6.3 (10.7) | 8.7 (12.5) | 9.8 (8.1) |
| Eight born | 9.0 (104.4) | 10.6 (46.7) | 7.8 (42.9) | 8.1 (18.6) | 4.3 (8.9) | 6.3 (13.7) | 11.3 (19.2) | 13.2 (19.0) | 11.6 (9.6) |
| Nine or more born | 11.4 (132.2) | 9.9 (43.9) | 9.1 (49.9) | 15.4 (35.2) | 15.0 (31.4) | 12.7 (27.6) | 14.6 (24.8) | 11.8 (17.1) | 15.7 (13.0) |
| 3 children or more | 30.3 (352.6) | 25.3 (111.1) | 32.9 (180.1) | 33.0 (75.4) | 38.2 (80.0) | 31.4 (67.9) | 25.9 (44.2) | 23.8 (34.3) | 31.0 (25.7) |
| 6 children or more | 41.5 (482.3) | 40.7 (179.8) | 36.3 (199.3) | 41.2 (94.4) | 36.4 (70.1) | 41.5 (92.2) | 45.6 (77.6) | 51.7 (74.6) | 49.1 (40.6) |
| Total | 100.0 (1162.3) | 99.9 (441.5) | 99.9 (547.1) | 99.9 (228.8) | 99.9 (209.3) | 100.0 (216.9) | 100.0 (170.5) | 100.0 (134.5) | 99.9 (82.8) |

Table 36
Number of Child Deaths in Households

| Variables | Total | Hungry | Poor landless labourers | Harijans | Backward castes | Service and trade | > 3 acres wet land | 1 to 3 acres wet land | > 5 acres dry land |
|----------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| No birth | 6.2 (72.7) | 5.7 (24.8) | 7.2 (40.3) | 7.3 (17.1) | 6.5 (14.3) | 7.1 (15.0) | 6.8 (11.8) | 1.8 (2.6) | 3.6 (3.0) |
| No death | 46.5 (545.1) | 45.3 (197.4) | 43.6 (243.6) | 35.8 (83.3) | 46.2 (101.8) | 46.2 (97.9) | 48.4 (83.5) | 49.3 (71.4) | 58.1 (48.7) |
| One death | 19.6 (229.3) | 18.3 (79.5) | 17.9 (100.0) | 15.5 (36.1) | 20.9 (45.7) | 23.8 (50.5) | 18.3 (31.5) | 24 (34.7) | 15.0 (12.6) |
| Two death | 15.4 (180.0) | 17.4 (75.8) | 16.3 (90.9) | 15.0 (35.0) | 15.5 (33.9) | 13.9 (29.5) | 14.9 (25.7) | 15.0 (21.8) | 14.4 (12.1) |
| Three deaths | 4.8 (55.7) | 5.5 (23.8) | 4.9 (27.4) | 8.2 (19.1) | 3.2 (7.1) | 3.3 (7.0) | 6.6 (11.4) | 5.1 (7.4) | 4.0 (2.5) |
| Four deaths | 3.1 (35.9) | 4.9 (21.3) | 3.6 (20.1) | 6.2 (14.5) | 2.7 (6.0) | 3.2 (6.8) | 1.7 (3.0) | 2.1 (3.0) | 3.6 (3.0) |
| Five deaths | 1.2 (14.2) | 0.8 (3.3) | 2.3 (12.7) | 2.6 (6.1) | 2.8 (6.1) | 0.2 (0.5) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 1.2 (1.5) |
| Six deaths | 1.3 (14.9) | 1.0 (4.2) | 1.7 (9.7) | 3.9 (9.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 1.4 (2.9) | 0.8 (1.3) | 0.7 (1.0) | 0.0 (0.0) |
| Seven deaths | 1.0 (11.7) | 1.0 (4.4) | 1.0 (5.4) | 3.4 (7.9) | 0.5 (1.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 1.3 (2.3) | 2.1 (3.0) | 1.2 (1.0) |
| Eight deaths or more | 1.1 (12.5) | 0.2 (1.0) | 1.5 (8.6) | 2.0 (4.6) | 1.4 (3.0) | 0.9 (1.9) | 1.2 (2.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) |
| 1 to 3 deaths | 39.8 (465.0) | 41.2 (179.1) | 39.1 (218.3) | 38.7 (90.2) | 39.6 (86.7) | 41.0 (87.0) | 39.8 (68.6) | 44.1 (63.9) | 32.4 (27.2) |
| Four and more deaths | 7.7 (89.2) | 7.9 (34.2) | 10.1 (56.5) | 18.1 (42.1) | 7.4 (16.1) | 5.7 (12.1) | 5.0 (8.6) | 4.9 (7.0) | 6.0 (5.0) |
| Total | 99.9 (1172.0) | 99.9 (435.5) | 100.0 (558.7) | 99.9 (232.7) | 100.0 (218.9) | 100.0 (212.0) | 100.0 (172.5) | 100.0 (144.9) | 100.0 (83.9) |

Table 37

Consumption of Alcohol

| Variables | Never | Occasionally | Often | Daily | Total |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Total | 64.3 (743.4) | 20.1 (232.7) | 5.4 (62.4) | 10.2 (117.8) | 100.0 (1156.3) |
| Hungry | 43.9 (194.0) | 26.9 (118.8) | 5.7 (25.0) | 23.5 (103.7) | 100.0 (441.5) |
| Poor Labourers | 48.7 (264.2) | 25.7 (139.4) | 6.0 (32.8) | 19.6 (106.5) | 100.0 (542.9) |
| Harijans | 53.9 (122.3) | 25.1 (57.0) | 10.0 (22.7) | 11.0 (25.0) | 100.0 (227.0) |
| Backward castes | 65.8 (136.6) | 19.6 (40.8) | 4.8 (10.6) | 9.8 (20.3) | 99.9 (207.7) |
| Service and trade | 81.0 (175.6) | 13.8 (29.9) | 3.6 (7.7) | 1.6 (3.5) | 100.0 (216.7) |
| > 3 Acres wet land | 82.3 (139.1) | 11.7 (19.8) | 4.3 (7.3) | 1.7 (2.8) | 100.0 (169.0) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 70.4 (101.9) | 21.3 (30.8) | 5.3 (7.6) | 3.1 (4.5) | 100.0 (144.8) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 75.5 (62.6) | 15.4 (12.8) | 8.4 (7.0) | 0.6 (0.5) | 99.9 (82.9) |

Table 38

Knowledge about Village Panchayat Members

| Variables | Yes/all/few | No | Total |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Total | 83.5 (964.3) | 16.5 (190.7) | 100.0 (1155.0) |
| Hungry | 64.6 (284.7) | 35.4 (156.2) | 100.0 (440.9) |
| Poor labourers | 72.5 (393.7) | 27.5 (149.0) | 100.0 (542.7) |
| Harijans | 86.4 (196.2) | 13.6 (31.0) | 100.0 (227.2) |
| Backward castes | 81.7 (170.5) | 18.3 (38.3) | 100.0 (208.8) |
| Service and trade | 87.6 (190.4) | 12.4 (26.9) | 100.0 (217.3) |
| > 3 Acres wet land | 98.2 (164.2) | 1.8 (3.0) | 100.0 (167.2) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 94.3 (136.5) | 5.7 (8.3) | 100.0 (144.8) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 95.8 (79.5) | 4.2 (3.5) | 100.0 (83.0) |

Table 39

**Knowledge about the Local member of the Legislative
Assembly (MLA)**

| <i>Variables</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Total | 62.7 (723.0) | 37.4 (431.1) | 100.0 (1154.1) |
| Hungry | 39.9 (176.1) | 60.1 (264.8) | 100.0 (440.9) |
| Poor labourers | 41.9 (228.0) | 58.1 (315.9) | 100.0 (543.9) |
| Harijans | 54.8 (124.4) | 45.2 (102.8) | 100.0 (227.2) |
| Backward castes | 58.2 (122.1) | 41.8 (87.7) | 100.0 (209.8) |
| Service and trade | 74.2 (161.3) | 25.8 (56.0) | 100.0 (217.3) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 87.6 (146.4) | 12.4 (20.8) | 100.0 (167.2) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 85.3 (122.6) | 14.7 (21.1) | 100.0 (143.7) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 78.9 (64.7) | 21.1 (17.3) | 100.0 (82.0) |

Table 40

Knowledge about Local Member of Parliament (MP)

| <i>Variables</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Total | 49.8 (574.4) | 52.2 (578.1) | 100.0 (1152.5) |
| Hungry | 32.2 (141.9) | 67.8 (299.0) | 100.0 (440.9) |
| Poor labourers | 28.8 (156.4) | 71.2 (385.8) | 100.0 (542.2) |
| Harijans | 46.1 (104.7) | 53.9 (122.8) | 100.0 (227.0) |
| Backward castes | 43.6 (91.5) | 56.4 (118.2) | 100.0 (209.2) |
| Service and trade | 60.2 (130.9) | 39.8 (86.4) | 100.0 (217.3) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 79.8 (133.5) | 20.2 (33.7) | 100.0 (167.2) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 68.3 (98.2) | 31.7 (45.6) | 100.0 (143.8) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 67.6 (55.4) | 32.4 (26.6) | 100.0 (82.0) |

Table 41

Voting Behaviour in Panchayat Election

| Variables | Noted listed | Did note vote | Voted to acqu- aintances/ whom told to vote | Total |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--|-------------------|
| Total | 11.1 (129.1) | 12.1 (140.4) | 76.8 (891.1) | 100.0 (1160.8) |
| Hungry | 19.0 (39.6) | 15.6 (68.8) | 75.5 (333.4) | 99.9 (441.8) |
| Poor labourers | 11.7 (64.0) | 12.3 (67.1) | 76.0 (415.8) | 100.0 (546.9) |
| Harijans | 8.6 (19.7) | 10.3 (23.5) | 81.1 (185.7) | 100.0 (228.9) |
| Backward castes | 19.0 (39.4) | 9.2 (20.2) | 71.3 (148.2) | 100.0 (207.8) |
| Service and trade | 11.4 (24.8) | 16.4 (35.7) | 72.2 (156.7) | 100.0 (217.2) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 7.2 (12.2) | 8.4 (14.2) | 84.4 (142.7) | 100.0 (169.1) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 8.2 (11.8) | 9.6 (13.9) | 82.2 (118.9) | 100.0 (144.6) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 19.6 (19.3) | 11.5 (9.5) | 68.9 (57.2) | 100.0 (83.0) |

Table 42
Voting Behaviour During Last Elections to State Legislatures

| Variables | Refused informa- tion | Not lis- ted not voted | Voted for acqui- sance as told | Cong- ress | CPLM | Jana Sangh | CPI & others | For- ward Bloc | Total |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Total | 4.1 (47.5) | 15.9 (182.4) | 6.7 (76.9) | 55.6 (637.7) | 13.3 (152.0) | 1.3 (15.0) | 2.0 (22.9) | 1.1 (13.0) | 100.0 (1147.4) |
| Hungry | 1.9 (8.4) | 21.2 (92.7) | 2.9 (12.5) | 41.6 (181.9) | 30.5 (133.3) | 0.5 (2.0) | 0.7 (3.0) | 0.7 (3.0) | 100.0 (436.8) |
| Poor labourers | 2.8 (15.1) | 19.6 (106.2) | 2.8 (15.2) | 45.5 (246.3) | 25.4 (137.2) | 0.0 (-2.0) | 2.0 (10.9) | 1.9 (10.0) | 100.0 (540.9) |
| Harijans | 1.5 (3.4) | 16.1 (36.3) | 9.4 (21.2) | 61.7 (138.8) | 9.7 (21.9) | 0.4 (1.0) | 1.1 (2.5) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (225.1) |
| Backward castes | 7.2 (15.5) | 16.6 (34.7) | 1.9 (4.0) | 56.4 (118.1) | 16.8 (35.1) | 0.0 (0.0) | 1.2 (2.4) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (209.4) |
| Service and trade | 6.7 (14.4) | 18.0 (38.9) | 1.3 (2.9) | 60.9 (131.5) | 4.7 (10.1) | 4.2 (9.0) | 3.7 (8.0) | 0.0 (1.0) | 100.0 (215.8) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 3.6 (6.0) | 10.5 (17.5) | 24.0 (40.1) | 60.1 (100.4) | 0.0 (0.0) | 1.8 (3.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (167.0) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 7.0 (10.0) | 9.9 (14.3) | 7.0 (10.0) | 72.0 (103.5) | 1.4 (2.0) | 2.8 (4.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 99.9 (143.8) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 2.4 (2.0) | 6.7 (5.5) | 10.6 (8.7) | 68.4 (56.0) | 3.3 (2.7) | 1.2 (1.0) | 4.9 (4.0) | 2.4 (2.0) | 99.9 (81.9) |

Table 43
Voting Behaviour During Last Elections to Parliament

| Variables | Refused Information | Not listed Not voted | Voted for acquaintance] as told | Congress | Jana Sangh | CPI-M, CPI & other | Total |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Total | 4.5 (51.0) | 17.9 (204.3) | 6.6 (74.9) | 54.8 (626.0) | 0.9 (10.0) | 15.4 (176.2) | 100.0 (1142.4) |
| Hungry | 1.7 (7.4) | 25.6 (111.6) | 2.9 (12.5) | 38.6 (168.6) | 0.2 (1.0) | 31.0 (135.2) | 100.0 (436.3) |
| Poor labourers | 2.7 (14.6) | 23.4 (126.3) | 3.0 (16.2) | 42.7 (230.3) | 0.0 (-3.0) | 28.3 (152.5) | 100.0 (539.9) |
| Harijans | 1.5 (3.4) | 17.8 (40.3) | 9.4 (21.2) | 61.3 (138.8) | 0.4 (1.0) | 9.7 (21.9) | 99.9 (226.6) |
| Backward castes | 7.2 (15.1) | 18.3 (38.3) | 1.9 (4.0) | 54.3 (113.7) | 0.0 (0.0) | 18.3 (38.3) | 100.0 (209.4) |
| Service and trade | 6.7 (14.4) | 19.1 (40.9) | 1.4 (2.9) | 62.2 (133.0) | 3.3 (7.0) | 7.3 (15.6) | 100.0 (213.8) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 5.3 (9.0) | 9.4 (15.9) | 23.1 (39.1) | 60.4 (102.0) | 1.8 (3.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 100.0 (169.0) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 7.7 (11.0) | 9.5 (13.7) | 6.3 (9.0) | 73.1 (105.1) | 2.1 (3.0) | 1.4 (2.0) | 100.0 (143.8) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 2.5 (2.0) | 9.5 (7.5) | 9.8 (7.7) | 70.5 (55.6) | 0.0 (0.0) | 7.7 (6.1) | 100.0 (78.9) |

Table 44

News paper Reading Habit

| Variable | Daily | Frequently | Not frequently | Not at all | Total |
|-----------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Total | 8.7 (100.8) | 0.8 (9.6) | 3.5 (39.9) | 87.0 (1007.6) | 100.0 (1157.9) |
| Hungry | 1.2 (5.5) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.7 (2.9) | 98.1 (443.4) | 100.0 (441.8) |
| Poor labourers | 0.0 (-31.7) | 0.1 (0.6) | 0.5 (2.6) | 99.4 (572.6) | 99.9 (575.8) |
| Harijans | 1.8 (4.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.7 (1.5) | 96.6 (221.7) | 100.0 (227.2) |
| Backward castes | 12.0 (25.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 2.8 (5.8) | 85.2 (176.9) | 100.0 (207.7) |
| Service and trade | 27.3 (59.2) | 2.5 (5.4) | 5.5 (11.9) | 64.8 (140.7) | 100.0 (217.2) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 15.5 (26.2) | 1.5 (2.6) | 8.5 (14.4) | 74.4 (125.8) | 100.0 (169.0) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 30.3 (43.8) | 0.0 (0.0) | 6.0 (8.7) | 63.7 (92.2) | 99.9 (144.7) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 4.0 (3.3) | 1.2 (1.0) | 2.8 (2.3) | 92.4 (76.3) | 100.0 (82.9) |

Table 45

Radio Listening Habit

| <i>Variables</i> | <i>Daily</i> | <i>Frequently</i> | <i>Not Frequently</i> | <i>Not at all</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Total | 10.0 (115.4) | 4.6 (53.4) | 2.9 (33.9) | 82.4 (950.2) | 100.0 (1152.9) |
| Hungry | 0.6 (2.5) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.4 (1.9) | 99.0 (436.5) | 100.0 (440.9) |
| Poor labourers | 0.0 (-21.5) | 1.1 (6.3) | 0.9 (5.1) | 98.0 (552.8) | 100.0 (564.2) |
| Harijans | 3.4 (7.6) | 0.2 (0.5) | 1.9 (4.2) | 94.9 (214.8) | 100.0 (227.1) |
| Backward castes | 11.9 (24.7) | 3.5 (7.2) | 0.1 (0.3) | 84.5 (175.2) | 99.9 (207.4) |
| Service and trade | 23.5 (50.3) | 9.8 (20.9) | 4.1 (8.8) | 62.6 (134.1) | 99.9 (214.1) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 25.4 (42.9) | 6.8 (11.5) | 11.6 (19.5) | 56.3 (95.0) | 100.0 (168.9) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 28.1 (40.7) | 4.2 (6.0) | 0.4 (0.5) | 67.4 (97.5) | 100.0 (144.7) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 3.6 (3.0) | 10.6 (8.7) | 0.0 (0.0) | 85.8 (70.8) | 100.0 (82.5) |

Table 46

Participation in Co-operatives

| <i>Variables</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Total | 29.8 (343.5) | 70.2 (811.0) | 100.0 (1154.5) |
| Hungry | 11.4 (50.0) | 88.6 (389.8) | 100.0 (439.8) |
| Poor labourers | 1.6 (8.6) | 98.4 (533.2) | 100.0 (541.8) |
| Harijans | 15.7 (35.5) | 84.3 (190.7) | 100.0 (226.2) |
| Backward castes | 23.4 (48.7) | 76.6 (159.1) | 100.0 (207.8) |
| Service and trade | 37.8 (81.6) | 62.2 (134.2) | 100.0 (215.8) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 64.9 (109.7) | 35.1 (59.4) | 100.0 (169.1) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 59.6 (86.3) | 40.4 (58.5) | 100.0 (144.8) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 69.0 (57.3) | 31.0 (25.7) | 100.0 (83.0) |

Table 47

Knowledge about the Community Development Programme

| <i>Variables</i> | <i>Do not know! no use</i> | <i>They come/ of some use</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Total | 89.5 (1035.3) | 10.5 (121.8) | 100.0 (1157.1) |
| Hungry | 96.2 (421.2) | 3.8 (16.6) | 100.0 (437.8) |
| Poor labourers | 98.6 (335.1) | 1.4 (7.5) | 100.0 (542.6) |
| Harijans | 93.7 (213.3) | 6.3 (14.4) | 100.0 (227.7) |
| Backward castes | 91.8 (190.3) | 8.2 (17.1) | 100.0 (207.4) |
| Service and trade | 90.9 (196.9) | 9.1 (19.7) | 99.9 (216.6) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 68.5 (116.8) | 31.5 (53.8) | 100.0 (170.6) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 82.2 (118.7) | 17.8 (25.7) | 100.0 (144.4) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 81.8 (67.8) | 18.2 (15.1) | 100.0 (82.9) |

Table 48

Visit to the Nearby City

| <i>Variables</i> | <i>Daily</i> | <i>Very Frequently</i> | <i>Frequently</i> | <i>Not Frequently</i> | <i>Rarely</i> | <i>Never</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|---------------|----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Total | 2.1 (24.3) | 5.0 (57.8) | 8.2 (94.5) | 21.0 (242.7) | 37.6 (434.2) | 26.2 (302.4) | 100.0 (1155.9) |
| Hungry | 0.5 (2.0) | 6.9 (1.6) | 4.5 (20.0) | 11.3 (49.8) | 39.7 (174.8) | 42.4 (186.7) | 99.9 (440.2) |
| Poor labourers | 0.6 (3.1) | 2.0 (11.0) | 3.8 (20.7) | 11.1 (60.0) | 40.1 (217.6) | 42.5 (230.6) | 100.0 (543.0) |
| Harijans | 1.8 (4.0) | 2.4 (5.4) | 5.9 (13.3) | 12.9 (29.2) | 53.6 (121.7) | 23.6 (53.6) | 100.0 (227.1) |
| Backward castes | 3.1 (6.4) | 5.5 (11.3) | 10.9 (22.6) | 17.1 (35.3) | 40.7 (84.2) | 22.7 (47.0) | 100.0 (206.8) |
| Service and trade | 5.2 (11.3) | 8.2 (17.7) | 14.6 (31.7) | 29.7 (64.2) | 26.9 (58.3) | 15.4 (33.3) | 100.0 (216.5) |
| > 3 Acres wet land | 2.0 (3.4) | 9.9 (16.7) | 10.2 (17.2) | 33.5 (56.6) | 38.3 (64.6) | 6.2 (10.4) | 100.0 (168.9) |
| 1 to 3 Acres wet land | 3.1 (4.5) | 5.1 (7.4) | 10.7 (15.4) | 31.9 (46.1) | 41.8 (60.4) | 7.5 (10.8) | 100.0 (144.6) |
| > 5 Acres dry land | 2.4 (2.0) | 6.0 (5.0) | 11.5 (9.5) | 19.1 (15.8) | 40.2 (33.3) | 20.9 (17.3) | 100.0 (82.9) |

Table 49
Visit to the Nearby Market

| Variables | Daily | Very frequently | Frequently | Not frequently | Rarely | Never | Total |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Total | 15.6 (179.3) | 4.4 (50.3) | 16.1 (185.2) | 28.3 (325.9) | 12.9 (148.9) | 22.7 (260.7) | 99.9 (1150.3) |
| Hungry | 5.4 (23.6) | 2.6 (11.2) | 12.4 (54.4) | 22.0 (96.2) | 21.7 (94.7) | 35.9 (157.1) | 99.9 (437.2) |
| Poor labourers | 3.2 (17.2) | 2.2 (11.9) | 16.7 (90.4) | 25.6 (138.4) | 18.7 (101.3) | 33.6 (182.0) | 100.0 (541.2) |
| Harijans | 11.6 (26.0) | 3.7 (8.3) | 17.4 (39.1) | 29.0 (65.2) | 18.2 (40.9) | 20.2 (45.5) | 100.0 (225.2) |
| Backward castes | 19.5 (40.4) | 5.1 (10.6) | 18.5 (38.4) | 30.1 (62.4) | 8.6 (17.9) | 18.1 (37.4) | 100.0 (207.1) |
| Service and trade | 25.7 (55.1) | 4.9 (10.5) | 16.5 (35.3) | 28.1 (60.2) | 8.8 (18.9) | 16.0 (34.4) | 100.0 (214.4) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 20.4 (34.0) | 9.2 (15.4) | 7.7 (12.9) | 40.0 (66.9) | 9.6 (16.0) | 13.1 (21.9) | 100.0 (167.1) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 27.0 (39.0) | 6.6 (9.5) | 19.7 (28.5) | 31.4 (45.4) | 3.7 (5.4) | 11.7 (16.9) | 100.0 (144.7) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 41.0 (34.0) | 3.6 (3.0) | 21.8 (18.1) | 18.1 (15.0) | 8.8 (7.3) | 6.6 (5.5) | 99.9 (82.9) |

Table 50
Visits to the Nearby Villages

| Variables | Daily | Very frequently | Frequently | Not frequently | Rarely | Never | Total |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Total | 1.7 (19.9) | 5.2 (59.7) | 23.0 (265.6) | 16.1 (185.6) | 24.0 (276.3) | 30.0 (346.3) | 100.0 (1153.4) |
| Hungry | 0.5 (2.0) | 2.8 (12.3) | 13.0 (57.0) | 13.5 (59.0) | 26.7 (117.0) | 43.6 (190.9) | 100.0 (438.2) |
| Poor labourers | 0.0 (-0.5) | 1.7 (9.1) | 20.3 (110.1) | 14.5 (78.6) | 26.5 (143.4) | 37.1 (200.8) | 100.0 (542.0) |
| Harijans | 1.3 (3.0) | 6.9 (15.7) | 23.3 (52.9) | 15.4 (35.0) | 35.0 (79.5) | 18.0 (40.8) | 100.0 (226.0) |
| Backward castes | 0.4 (0.9) | 7.8 (16.1) | 29.3 (60.6) | 21.1 (43.6) | 14.6 (30.2) | 26.9 (55.7) | 99.9 (207.1) |
| Service and trade | 5.3 (11.5) | 6.7 (14.4) | 19.6 (42.5) | 17.1 (37.0) | 25.9 (56.1) | 25.4 (55.1) | 100.0 (216.6) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 1.7 (2.9) | 8.8 (14.9) | 26.2 (44.2) | 19.2 (32.5) | 27.2 (46.0) | 16.8 (28.4) | 100.0 (168.9) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 0.7 (1.0) | 7.8 (11.3) | 27.7 (40.0) | 18.3 (26.5) | 12.4 (17.1) | 33.1 (47.8) | 100.0 (144.5) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 6.1 (5.0) | 12.2 (10.0) | 35.2 (28.8) | 13.4 (11.0) | 15.8 (12.9) | 17.3 (14.2) | 100.0 (81.9) |

Table 51

Housing Conditions

| <i>Variables</i> | <i>Thatch & mud</i> | <i>Brick built</i> | <i>Mixed</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Total | 50.6 (587.9) | 23.0 (266.6) | 26.5 (307.3) | 100.0 (1161.8) |
| Hungry | 60.9 (268.4) | 10.5 (46.3) | 28.6 (126.2) | 100.0 (440.9) |
| Poor labourers | 66.0 (360.2) | 6.8 (36.9) | 27.3 (148.9) | 100.0 (546.0) |
| Harijans | 67.8 (154.5) | 9.3 (21.3) | 22.9 (52.2) | 99.9 (228.0) |
| Backward castes | 20.6 (106.2) | 22.3 (46.7) | 27.1 (56.8) | 100.0 (209.7) |
| Service and trade | 35.3 (76.6) | 33.0 (71.6) | 31.8 (69.0) | 100.0 (217.2) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 28.8 (49.3) | 44.3 (75.8) | 26.8 (45.9) | 100.0 (171.0) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 35.7 (51.7) | 41.9 (60.6) | 20.4 (32.4) | 99.9 (144.7) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 60.4 (50.1) | 26.2 (21.7) | 13.4 (11.1) | 100.0 (82.9) |

Table 52

Availability of a Latrine

| <i>Variables</i> | <i>Scavenging</i> | <i>Flush</i> | <i>Bore-hole</i> | <i>None</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Total | 6.7 (77.8) | 2.8 (32.8) | 1.3 (15.5) | 89.7 (1030.3) | 100.0 (1156.4) |
| Hungry | 1.7 (7.3) | 0.3 (1.5) | 0.1 (0.5) | 97.9 (430.5) | 100.0 (439.8) |
| Poor labourers | 0.0 (-2.5) | 0.0 (-1.1) | 0.6 (3.1) | 99.4 (550.8) | 100.0 (553.9) |
| Harijans | 1.1 (2.5) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.2 (0.5) | 98.7 (226.1) | 100.0 (229.1) |
| Backward castes | 6.2 (12.7) | 0.2 (0.5) | 0.5 (1.0) | 93.1 (192.2) | 99.9 (206.4) |
| Service and trade | 20.6 (44.2) | 8.3 (17.7) | 3.5 (7.4) | 67.7 (144.9) | 99.9 (214.2) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 10.6 (17.8) | 8.2 (13.8) | 1.5 (2.5) | 79.6 (133.9) | 100.0 (167.5) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 11.2 (15.8) | 1.6 (2.3) | 1.8 (2.5) | 85.4 (120.7) | 99.9 (141.3) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 3.0 (2.5) | 0.0 (0.0) | 0.0 (0.0) | 97.0 (80.5) | 100.0 (83.0) |

Table 53

Availability of Electricity Connection

| <i>Variables</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Total | 21.0 (242.5) | 79.0 (914.8) | 100.0 (1157.3) |
| Hungry | 8.4 (36.9) | 91.7 (403.0) | 100.0 (439.9) |
| Poor labourers | 2.3 (12.7) | 97.7 (531.2) | 100.0 (543.9) |
| Harijans | 3.2 (7.3) | 96.8 (221.8) | 100.0 (229.1) |
| Backward castes | 13.5 (20.3) | 86.5 (181.5) | 100.0 (209.8) |
| Service and trade | 38.3 (82.5) | 61.7 (132.7) | 100.0 (215.2) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 39.8 (68.1) | 60.2 (103.0) | 100.0 (171.1) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 47.3 (68.5) | 52.7 (77.2) | 100.0 (144.7) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 13.0 (10.7) | 87.0 (71.7) | 100.0 (82.4) |

Table 54

Ownership of a Radio Set

| <i>Variables</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Total | 18.7 (216.9) | 81.3 (744.9) | 100.0 (1161.8) |
| Hungry | 1.8 (7.9) | 100.0 (434.0) | 100.0 (441.9) |
| Poor labourers | 0.0 (-5.4) | 100.0 (552.2) | 100.0 (552.2) |
| Harijans | 3.9 (8.9) | 96.1 (220.2) | 100.0 (229.1) |
| Backward castes | 14.6 (30.6) | 85.4 (179.2) | 100.0 (209.8) |
| Service and trade | 37.2 (80.7) | 62.8 (136.0) | 100.0 (216.7) |
| > 3 acres wet land | 43.9 (75.1) | 56.1 (95.9) | 100.0 (171.0) |
| 1 to 3 acres wet land | 35.4 (51.3) | 64.6 (93.5) | 100.0 (144.8) |
| > 5 acres dry land | 18.4 (15.2) | 81.6 (67.3) | 100.0 (82.5) |

Appendices

Appendix I

List of documents prepared to assist data collection in the field

1. Protocol for the Study of Impact of Activities of Some PHCs on Community Health Practices Including Family Planning as Conceived by the Consumer
2. Procedure for Field Work by Research Investigators
3. Check-list and Some Explanatory Notes on Procedure for Field Work
4. Notes on the Tools that are to be Used in Connection with the Study
5. Health Problems and Health Practices in Rural India Background Papers
6. Sampling Procedure for Defining the Study Population for Using Unstructured Interview Schedule
7. Schedule of the Study of Community Health Behaviour of a Representative Sample
8. Work Procedure for Conducting Interviews Through Schedule
9. Project Newsletter—I
10. Schedule for Interview of the PHC Staff
11. Work Procedure for Interviewing PHC Staff Through Schedule
12. Supplementary Study of the Project Villages in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan and Gujarat to examine the Community Implications of the Recent Intensified Family Planning Drive in these States
13. Some Specific Areas for Investigation in the Supplementary Study of the Project Villages
14. Schedule for the Study of Family Planning Acceptors (Vasectomy and Tubectomy)
15. Schedule for Data Collection During the Second Follow-up Study of Community Health Behaviour

Appendix II

Schedule for the study of community health
behaviour of a representative sample

Serial No.

1. Name of the Head of the Family
2. House No. (if any)
3. Caste..... 4. Occupation (to get an idea of income)
- (a) Main (b) Subsidiary.....
5. Standard of House: (a) Kaccha/Pucca/Mixed
- (b) Latrine..... Yes/No. If Yes, type.....
- (c) Electricity..... (d) Radio.....
6. Landholding (in acres)
- (a) Irrigated..... (b) Unirrigated (c) Barren.....
7. Family Composition

| S.No. | Name of the Family Members | Age/ Sex | Marital Status | Education | Occupation | Relation- ship with Head |
|-------|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

- Note: (i) Married daughter will not be included.
(ii) Persons staying in the family for more than a month should be treated as a family member.
(iii) Persons temporarily away—for less than one month—will be considered as a family member.
8. Do you know of any worker from the Block Development Office who visits your village?
Yes/No. If yes, what does he do? How useful is he to you?
 9. What is a PHC?
 10. How frequently do you visit it as compared to other institutions, Private Practitioners of Western Medicine, Vaid, Hakims, Health Institutions in Town, etc?
(Please make a quantitative comparison)
 11. In what connection did you visit it last?
 12. What are some of the main activities of the PHC?
 13. What is your opinion about the functioning of the PHC?
 14. Do you go to local healers for your medical needs?

15. What measures do you adopt to prevent getting ill?
16. Do you know of any worker from the PHC who visits the village?
17. What do they do?
18. How useful is he to you?
19. Are you familiar with the worker who asks questions about fever, etc. and who makes an entry on the chart, on the door or on the wall?
20. Is there anybody who gives smallpox vaccinations?
21. Have you vaccinated all your children?
22. From whom did they get vaccination? And at what age?
23. Who registers births and deaths in your village?
24. Did you get your births and deaths registered? If yes, by whom?
25. Number of children born in the household (total births from each spouse to be taken separately).
(a) How many are alive?
(b) Their age, sex and causes of death and what was done?
26. Abortions—Number and Causes (legal or otherwise).
27. Any stillbirths (i.e. born full term but dead)?
28. Other deaths during the past five years?

| S.No. | Person died (name) | Age | Sex | Reason of death | Year |
|-------|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----------------|------|
|-------|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----------------|------|

Note : Children will be excluded.

29. Whether treatment taken? Yes/No
30. If Yes, what and through whom?
31. Who conducted the deliveries of the children born in your household? Family members? Dais? ANM/Dais together?
32. Did the mother get services from anybody before or after the delivery?
33. Whom do you prefer for conducting delivery and why?
34. What do you think of the ability of the ANM and the LHV to conduct deliveries?
35. How long is the mother confined to bed after a delivery?
36. How long is the child breast-fed?
37. Is it the feeling that breast-feeding will delay the next childbirth?
38. At what age is the child put on extra feeds? What are the feeds? How much of milk is given to the children?
39. What measures do you adopt when a child has severe diarrhoea or dysentery or cough and cold with high fever? What is the feeding routine when a child has prolonged diarrhoea?
40. According to you how many children should a family have?
41. According to you what methods do people in the village adopt for limiting the family size? (this includes induced abortion.)
42. Do you know of family planning methods available from the PHC?
43. Do you know of any depot holder of 'NIRODH'? Is it also available from shops?

44. What categories of persons carry out Family Planning work in the village? (this includes the revenue staff also.)
45. Does the PHC satisfy your Family Planning needs? If not, why? What measures are adopted to get Family Planning acceptance?
46. Are you familiar with the liberalised abortion law? (one can get legal abortion on ground of contraceptive failure, mental and physical condition, etc.)
47. Do you know what is pulmonary tuberculosis? What should be done when anybody gets this disease?
48. Do you know what is leprosy? What should be done when anybody gets this disease?
49. Loan taken :

| S.No. | Source | Amount | Rate of Interest | Reasons of taking loan |
|-------|--|--------|------------------|------------------------|
| 50. | Do all members of your family get enough food to satisfy your needs all round the year? If no, how many months your needs are not fully met? | | | |
| 51. | What is the content of your food? (including seasonal variation.) | | | |
| 52. | How much of pure ghee, milk, dal, vanaspati, gur, sugar, tea and coffee is consumed in your house per month? | | | |
| 53. | How much of alcohol is consumed by the household members? | | | |
| 54. | Newspaper reading | | | |
| | (a) How often? | | | |
| | (b) How long? | | | |
| | (c) Do you buy? | | | |
| 55. | Radio | | | |
| | (a) How long? | | | |
| | (b) How often? | | | |
| 56. | Have you participated in the activities of any co-operative or postal saving or the Bank? | | | |
| 57. | How often do you go to the | | | |
| | (a) City | | | |
| | (b) Markets | | | |
| | (c) Other villages | | | |
| 58. | How do you spend your spare time? | | | |
| 59. | Do you get together with others for informal chats? How often and how long? | | | |
| 60. | Do you know about your local | | | |
| | (a) Panchayat members | | | |
| | (b) Zila Parishad members | | | |
| | (c) M.L.A. | | | |
| | (d) M.P. | | | |
| 61. | Did you vote and for whom for the election to | | | |
| | (a) Panchayat | | | |

(b) M.L.A.

(c) M.P.

62. Why did you vote?

- Note: (i) If anybody in the family accepted vasectomy or IUCD, please write a full case report.
- (ii) If you get a case of chronic disease with significant data, please make a case report.
1. Investigator.....
 2. Date and time.....
 3. Respondent Name.....
- Any other questions that the Investigator will like to ask to bring out special features in his own populations.

Appendix III

Code list for analysis of the quantitative data

1. Caste
2. Occupation
3. Standard of Housing
4. Availability of a Latrine
5. Availability of Electricity Connections
6. Availability of Radio
7. Source of Drinking Water
8. Cattle Ownership
9. Landholding
10. Family Composition
11. Knowledge of Block Development Workers
12. Knowledge About the PHC
13. Frequency of Visits to the PHC
14. Reasons for Visiting the PHC
15. Knowledge About the Functioning of the PHC
16. Opinion About the PHC
17. Approach to Local Healers for Medical Needs
18. Measures Adopted to Prevent Getting Ill
19. Knowledge About PHC Workers
20. What do the PHC Workers Do
21. How far are these Visiting Personnel Useful to the Residents
22. Familiarity with the Basic Health Worker
23. Knowledge About the Vaccinator
24. Number of Children Vaccinated in the Households
25. Who Vaccinated them? And where?
26. Age of the Child at Primary Vaccinations
27. Who Registers Births and Deaths in Your Village
28. Extent of Registration of Birth and Death in the Population
29. Number of Children Born in the Households
30. Number of Child Deaths in the Households
31. Number of Abortions in the Family
32. Number of Still Births in the Family
33. Other Deaths During the Past Five Years
34. Sexwise Distribution of the Deaths
35. Causes of the Deaths
36. Measures Taken During Illness
37. Who Conducted the Deliveries?
38. Services Provided to the Mother Before or After the Delivery
39. What were the Services?
40. Choice of Agents for Conducting a Delivery
41. Reasons for the Choice
42. What Services were Offered During the Childbirth?
43. What do you think of the Ability of the Auxiliary Nurse, Midwife and Lady Health Visitor to Conduct the Delivery
44. Period of Confinement to Bed After Delivery
45. Age of Weaning
46. Opinion About Influence of Breast-Feeding with Delay in the Next Childbirth
47. Age at which Extra Foods (Other than Breast Feed) is given to Babies
48. What are the Extra Feeds?
49. Quantity of Extra Feed
50. Treatment Given when a Child has Severe Attack of Diarrhoea, Dysentery or Cold and Cough with Fever
51. What is the Feeding Routine when a Child has Prolonged Diarrhoea
52. Opinion About the Number of Children One Should Have
53. Villager's Idea About the Methods Followed by Villagers for Limiting the Size of the Family
54. According to Villagers, What Facilities for Family Planning are Available in the PHC
55. Knowledge About the Depot Holder of Nirodh
56. Knowledge About the Sale of Nirodh in the Open Market
57. Knowledge About Visits of Family Planning Workers Including Revenue-man for Propaganda
58. Degree of Fulfilment of Family Planning Requirements from the PHC
59. What Propaganda Work for Family Planning are Carried out in the Village?
60. Knowledge About the Law of Abortion
61. What is Tuberculosis?
62. Knowledge About Tuberculosis and its Treatment
63. What is Leprosy?
64. How is Leprosy Treated?
65. Degree of Hunger Satisfaction
66. Type of Food Taken
67. Quantum of Special Foods for Vegetarians
68. Quantum of Special Foods
69. Alcohol Drinking Habit
70. Newspaper Reading Frequency
71. Duration of Newspaper Reading Habit (Since How Long)
72. Purchase of Newspaper
73. Duration of Radio Listening Habit (Since How Long)
74. Frequency of Radio Listening

75. Participation in Co-operative Activities
76. Frequency of Visits to a City
77. Frequency of Visits to a Market
78. Frequency of Visits to Other Villages
79. Mode of Spending Leisure Hours
80. Extent of Sitting and Gossiping
81. Duration of Sitting and Gossiping
82. Knowledge About the Member of the Panchayat
83. Knowledge About the Members of the Zila Parishad
84. Knowledge About the Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) of the Constituency
85. Knowledge About the Member of Parliament (MP) of the Constituency
86. Whom Voted in Panchayat Elections
87. Whom Voted in Elections to State Assembly
88. Whom Voted in Lok Sabha Elections
89. Why Did You Vote?

NB: Five codes were assigned for stratification of individual households.

Appendix IV

Code list for analysis of the qualitative data

General Description of the Village

1. Criteria for Selection of Primary Health Centres
2. Criteria for Selection of Villages
3. Settling down in the Village
4. Rapport Building
5. Name, Tehsil, District, Brief History
6. General Lay Out
7. General Sanitation
8. Water Supply
9. Medicine Shops
10. Banks and Loan Facilities
11. Other Shops, Markets and Local Industries
12. Panchayat
13. Community Development
14. Schools
15. Temples and Other Places of Worship
16. Transport and Communication Facilities
17. Land and Crops
18. Total Population and its Distribution
19. Economic Stratification
20. Education and Literacy Level
21. Clubs and Other Groups and Fractions within the Village
22. Neighbourhood Patterns, Particularly Location of the Harijan Colonies

Medical Practitioners

23. Number of Non-professionals —Dais, Bone-setters, etc.
24. Qualified Indigenous Practitioners
25. Non-qualified Indigenous Practitioners
26. Qualified Homeopathic Practitioners
27. Non-qualified Homeopathic Practitioners
28. Qualified Practitioners of Western Medicine
29. Non-qualified Practitioners of Western Medicine
30. Staffing Pattern of the PHC
31. Hospitals within the Village
32. Facilities for Hospital and Medical Care in the Surrounding Areas

The Village Community

33. Power Structure of the Village
34. Communication System within the Village
35. Mechanism of Decision-Making
36. Beliefs, Customs and Rituals
37. Birth, Marriage and Death Practices
38. Food Habits
39. Any Others Habits
40. Childhood disease/Childhood death

Response to Diseases and Health and Family Planning Activities

41. Childhood Diseases and Childhood Deaths
42. Smallpox
43. Stomach Disorders
44. Prolonged Fevers
45. Malaria
46. Tetanus
47. Pregnancy, Labour and After Labour
48. Women's Diseases
49. Child Rearing Practices
50. Vasectomy
51. Tubectomy
52. IUCD
53. Pills
54. Nirodh
55. Induced Abortions/Abortions
56. Family Planning Camp
57. School Health
58. Nutrition Programmes
59. Immunisation
60. Water Supply
61. Drainage System
62. Injuries and Accidents/Suicides
63. Eye Disorders
64. Any Other Disorders
 - A. Guineaworm Infestation
 - B. Skin Diseases
 - C. Opium and Other Addictions
 - D. Alcoholism
 - E. Family Planning Motivation
 - F. Plague
 - G. Dog Bites
 - H. Snake Bites

Attitude of the Villagers Towards the PHC and the Other Health Agencies

65. Medical Officer In-charge

66. Lady Doctor
67. Lady Health Visitors
68. Auxiliary Health Midwife/Trained Dai
69. Basic Health Worker
70. Vaccinators
71. Pharmacists
72. Sanitary Inspector
73. Health Inspectors
74. Block Extension Educators
75. Other Functionaries

Functioning of the Primary Health Centre

76. PHC as a Whole
77. Medical Officer In-charge
78. Second Medical Officer
79. Lady Health Visitor
80. Sanitary Inspector
81. Health Inspector
82. Block Extension Educators
83. Auxiliary Nurse Midwife
84. Basic Health Worker
85. Literacy Worker
86. Other Workers

Functioning of Other Practitioners

87. Healer — Non-Professional — in the Village
- 87a. Healer — Non Professional — outside the Village
88. Private Practitioner of Western Medicine — in the Village
89. Private Practitioner of Western Medicine — in the Town
90. Hospital in Town
91. Hospital in Village
92. Home Remedies

Appendix V

Abstract from the preliminary communication
on the present study

(As reported in "Health Behaviour of Rural Population: Impact of Rural Health Services — A Preliminary Communication," June 1974, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.)

INFLUENCE OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PHC ON HEALTH
BEHAVIOUR OF RURAL POPULATION*Response to Medical Care Problems*

Demand for Western Medical Care Services: Taking into account the social and economic status of the people, the epidemiology of health problems and the nature of the health services available, it is not surprising that problems of medical care should be by far the most urgent concern among the health problems in rural populations. But the surprising finding is that the response to the major medical care problems is very much in favour of the Western (allopathic) system of medicine, irrespective of social, economic, occupational and regional considerations. Availability of such services and capacity of patients to meet the expenses are the two major constraining factors.

Image of the PHC Dispensary: On the whole, the dispensary projects a very unflattering image. Discrimination against the poor and the oppressed, poor quality of medicines (only red water), lack of medicines, overcrowding and long wait, nepotism, bribery and indifferent and often rude behaviour of the staff are some of the charges that have been levelled against most of the dispensaries. Complaints about medicines and overcrowding and long wait are made even against the best of the PHCs studied.

Services from Other Agencies of Western Medicine

Because of the very poor image of the PHC dispensary and its limited capacity, it is unable to satisfy a very substantial proportion of the demand of the villagers for medical care services. This enormous unmet need for medical care services is the main motive force for the creation of a very large number of the so-called Registered Medical Practitioners (RMPs) or "quacks".

Apart from these, depending on the economic status of the patient and the gravity of his illness, villagers often seek help from government and

non-government medical care agencies in the adjoining (or even distant) towns and cities. There are several instances of families having been totally ruined in the process of meeting medical care expenses for major illness of the bread-winner or of other family members.

Services from (qualified or non-qualified) practitioners of indigenous systems of medicine and homoeopathy and from other non-professional healers.

There are numerous instances of adoption of these healing practices. But among those who suffer from major illness, only a very tiny fraction preferentially adopt these practices, by positively rejecting facilities of the Western system of medicine which are more efficacious and which are easily available and accessible to them. Usually these practices and home remedies are adopted: (i) side by side with Western medicine; (ii) after Western medicines fail to give benefits; (iii) when Western medical services are not available or accessible to them due to various reasons; and, (iv) frequently, when the illness is of minor nature.

Response to the Family Planning Programme

Image of the Family Planning Programme: A very significant finding of this study is that the family planning programme has ended up in projecting an image which is just the opposite of what was actually intended. Instead of projecting an image which reflects for dignity of the individual—the so-called democratic approach which offers free choice of methods to the users and which ensures better health services, the image of the family planning workers in rural areas is that of persons who use coercion and other kinds of pressure tactics and offer bribes to entice people to accept vasectomy or tubectomy. There are, on the other hand, a few workers who invoke the pity of community leaders by making pathetic entreaties to them to "give" them some cases to save them from losing their jobs. To a large section of villagers, the inverted red triangle and the workers behind the banner invoke a feeling of strong antipathy.

Follow-up Services for the Acceptors: There have been numerous complaints from the villagers that they get no help from the organisation when they encounter complications following acceptance of family planning services—IUCD, vasectomy and tubectomy. These dissatisfied acceptors have been allowed to freely spread scare stories regarding these methods. Failure to provide even a very rudimentary system of health services, particularly curative services, has tended to reinforce this negative image.

Unmet Demand for Family Planning Services: Because of the failure of workers to develop a rapport with the villagers, sometimes the villagers are unable to meet their needs for family planning services. The negative response evoked by the high-handed attitude of the family planning workers and the single method mass approach usually adopted by them often obscured the fact that many villagers actively seek family planning methods of their choice and that these demands remain mostly unmet due to lack of response from the field workers.

Instances of Induced Abortions: There are several instances of mothers, who, failing to get suitable family planning services from the PHC, took recourse to induced abortions to get rid of unwanted pregnancies. This not only points to the failure of the programme to meet their needs for the services but it also draws attention to the failure of the programme to offer suitable abortion services to mothers with unwanted pregnancies, despite the passage of the abortion bill.

Distribution of 'Nirodhs': Most of the Nirodh users have to get their supply from the commercial channels. The depot holders are virtually non-existent and the free supply from PHC, according to some villagers, often finds its way into the market and is sold through the commercial channel.

Prophylactic Services for Mothers and Children through Family Planning Programme: Supply of iron and folic acid tablets and tetanus toxoid injections to pregnant mothers, immunisation and nutrition programmes for pre-school children and Vitamin A supplements to the population, all of which are supposed to be offered by the family planning programme, are virtually unknown in the 17 villages studied.

Response to Maternal and Child Health Services

Demand for the Services: Another very significant finding of this study is that there is considerable unmet felt need for the services of the Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) at the time of childbirth. Villagers are keen to have the ANM's service because they consider her to be more skilled than the traditional *dai*. Wherever the ANMs have provided services, the *dai*'s role has become less significant. It is significant that even those ANMs who have tarnished their image by openly carrying on extra-marital affairs within the villages but who are otherwise competent continue to command respect of villagers.

Image of the Auxiliary Nurse Midwife/Lady Health Visitor: The overall image of the ANM/LHV in villages in north India is that of a person who is quite distant from them—meant only for special people or for those who can pay for her services. She is not for the poor. She can be called only when there are complications and then also she should be paid. She is not expected to visit them during the pregnancy or after the delivery. In the villages in the south, the position is (only) relatively better though there also the utilisation of the ANM is much below the optimal level, thus leaving substantial unmet felt needs. Antenatal and postnatal care of mothers, as well as care of the children are virtually absent even in the villages in which PHCs have been functioning for a very long time.

Utilisation of the Lady Doctor and Hospital Facilities: Lady doctors, whenever available, are even more inaccessible than the LHVs and ANMs. The villagers actively seek their help or even take the patients to the city hospital in the case of intractable obstetrical complications. These data once again belie the prevailing notion that the illiterate, superstitious and ignorant villagers do not accept offers of scientific health care services and, instead, they go for primitive health practices.

Deliveries by Dais, Relatives and Neighbours: They conduct the majority of the deliveries even in the villages where the PHC is located. In the villages with no PHC, their sway is almost complete. It is noteworthy that they seek help from the ANM, LHV or the lady doctor for complications which they are unable to manage. Use of unclean instruments and adoption of cruder methods by the *dais* and relatives and neighbours can be held responsible for the much more frequent occurrence of neonatal tetanus and other complications. But, in contrast with the ANM and LHV, they either don't cost anything or their charges are moderate; they are easily available and accessible at any hour of the day; they readily pay repeated visits to the mother during the pregnancy, labour and after labour; they perform such chores as massaging of the mother, looking after the infant, washing of the clothes and disposing of the placenta and other soiled material; and, above all, being an useful integral part of village social system, they inspire confidence among the villagers and, unlike the ANMs and LHVs, they do not subdue them by their curt or even rude behaviour. As in the case of the Registered Medical Practitioners, confinement by relatives and friends and the indigenous *dais* is popular among the villagers not because of their intrinsic merits but in the absence of suitable services from the ANM/LHV/lady doctors, they are compelled to settle for something which they consider to be inferior but which is all that is available accessible to them.

Response to Malaria and Smallpox Work

These are the two programmes which can be stated to have attained some success in reaching the grass roots. Despite several complaints regarding the sincerity of these workers, there is almost universal agreement among the villagers that these workers do visit the community—they reach people in their homes. It is, however, interesting that frequently the villagers do not associate them with the PHC:

- Q. Does anybody from the PHC visit your village?
- A. Nobody.
- Q. Anybody who asks about fevers, gives medicines and writes on the wall?
- A. Oh, yes, the malaria man. He visits once in two-three months.
- Q. Anybody giving smallpox vaccination?
- A. Yes, he visits three-four times a year and also goes to the school to vaccinate the children.

Except when there are understandable compulsions, such as the prospect of the poverty-stricken mother losing wages for 4-5 days at the peak agricultural season due to the child's vaccination reactions and some cases of orthodoxy, there is general acceptance of smallpox vaccination in village communities.

The number of children who are left unvaccinated due to lapses of the parents appear to be a very small fraction of those who remain unvaccinated due to the lapses of the vaccinators and their supervisors. During the outbreak of smallpox in a village where the study was going on, the organisation

was seen to react very sluggishly, both in terms of getting the information and in terms of taking preventive measures. Also, finding little to choose between treatment of a smallpox case by Western methods and depending on the goddess Sitala for the survival, villagers adopted a mixture of both these practices.

Response to Other National Communicable Diseases Programmes

Patients suffering from tuberculosis, leprosy and trachoma get very little benefit from the corresponding national programmes. They are forced to seek help from elsewhere. Such help is not only much more expensive and bothersome, but it is also much less efficacious, both clinically as well as epidemiologically. Other preventive measures, of course, are almost non-existent.

Response to Activities in the Field of Environmental Sanitation

Usually, the Sanitary Inspector of the PHC is not even associated by the villagers with immunisation programmes, cleaning and disinfection of well's and ponds, garbage disposal, promotion of sanitary latrines, etc. "Inspection" of village food and milk vendors remains, in the villagers' eyes, his main preoccupation in the field of environmental sanitation. Although, by far the great majority of the villagers still go to the fields for defecation, significantly, impelled by sheer felt need, a number of them have incurred considerable expenditure to get latrines of various types installed in their homes. They got little help in any form from the PHC. This is another instance of the health institution failing behind even the already existing felt need for preventive services in the community.

Response to Other Community Health Activities

There are no sustained efforts to deal with such diseases as cholera, diphtheria and guineaworm and hookworm infestations as public health problems. When, however, epidemics of cholera and diphtheria struck separately three of the study villages when the field work was going on, the PHC and the district health authorities encountered little difficulty in getting community participation in the anti-epidemic measures. There were also instances of villagers, on their own, seeking triple antigen immunisation from the PHC. Very often even this need was not met by the PHC.

Registration of births and deaths are most incomplete. School health services and nutrition services are virtually non-existent.

CROSS-CHECKING THE VILLAGERS' IMAGE OF THE PHC WITH THE REALITY

Cross-checking the Findings with the PHC Staff

Interview of the workers at PHC revealed that the disorganisation of the PHC is even more advanced than what came out of the study of the villagers. The disorganisation is manifest in all the activities of the PHC-medical care,

family planning, maternal and child health services, control of communicable diseases and other community health activities. On more than one occasion the interview was enough of a stimulus to trigger off a spontaneous outpouring of a torrent of comments from some PHC workers on the very dismal state of affairs in these institutions. Even in the PHC which had an exceptionally dedicated Medical Officer in-charge, apart from some improvement in the medical care and maternity services, which, nevertheless, is very much below the full capacity of the organisation, there is little activity in the other fields.

Cross-checking the Findings with Officials of Ten State Directorates of Health Services

Officials of the state health directorates, after ensuring that they can respond to the questions put to them by the author as public health workers, rather than as government officials, were also quite forthright in pointing out major flaws in the organisation and management of rural health services in their respective states. Their response provide grounds to believe that the findings from the villages and PHCs of the four states are also likely to be valid for the villages and PHCs of the other three states of the country. Their major comments are as follows:

The ideal of the primary health centre exists only in name. It is in total disarray. The team leader of the PHC, who is the pivot of the institution, not only lacks the qualities needed to provide leadership but he is also a most reluctant worker, having interests which are often diametrically opposed to the interests of the PHC.

The medical colleges have conspicuously failed in giving the needed orientation to the graduates. The departments of preventive and social medicine have not only failed to bring about the expected social orientation of medical education, but in the bargain, they have also lost their grasp over practical community health issues. There is an urgent need for a through review of their role.

A number of directors of health services drew attention to the very unfavourable impact of the family planning programme on the rural health services. Too much preoccupation of the PHC staff with the attainment of family planning targets has led to further neglect of the health programmes. The mass vasectomy camp approach to family planning has further accentuated this problem. The entire health work comes to a virtual standstill for over four months preceding a mass camp. Some of them dramatically brought home this point by producing graphs to show that outbreaks of smallpox and cholera and gastro-enteritis synchronised with the organisation of the mass camps. A number of workers attributed serious setbacks to the malaria and smallpox eradication programmes to preoccupation of the PHC staff with family planning work. The mass vasectomy camps seem to have aroused serious misgivings even among some of the state family planning officers. With the adoption of a "high" level of incentives for the mass camps, there is a tendency among the potential acceptors to avoid the regular "low"

incentives and wait for the next mass camp, thus leading to a very sharp fall in the number of acceptors for the remaining ten or eleven months of the year.

There is a palpable lack of political will to develop health services for the rural population. Several public health workers pointed out that despite protestations of concern for the villagers' health needs, the political leadership is much more inclined to develop institutions in urban areas—more hospital beds, more sophisticated facilities, more intensive care units and more facilities for education and research in sophisticated and prestigious medical institutions. Instead of overcoming the wasteful obstructions from the bureaucrats, they actively nurture them. There is also rampant political interference in the creation of posts, in appointments and in promotion and transfer of health personnel. Democratic decentralization of the administration in some states have made the services in these states even more vulnerable to undue political interference.

There is a considerable degree of unmet felt need for all types of health services: apart from some very overt medical care need, there is considerable need for services for maternal and child health, nutrition, immunisation, environmental sanitation and water supply, school health, and health and family planning information.

Index

- Access to educational opportunities 41
- Access to medical services 222
- Adult Literacy 159, 160, 161
- Agricultural labour 59, 179
 - Minimum wage, Unemployment, Militancy of 179
- AIADMK (All India Anna DMK) 143-44, 168-9
- Alcohol 25, 32
 - consumption of 131
- Ambedkar Youth Club 19, 190-91 193
- Amdanga 6, 31, 156, 178
- ANM (Auxiliary Nurse Midwife) 68, 219
- Anti-Reservation Movement 173, 193, 194
- Antyodaya 158, 161, 191
- Arnavali 6, 31, 197-202
- Arya Samaj 42, 85, 93, 204
- Ayyangar Brahmins 85, 186, 187
- Backward Caste 28, 83, 123
- Banias 49, 117
- Barajaguli (for Haringhata village) 7, 31, 175-77
- Bhangis 85, 87, 127, 200-4, 210
- Bharatiya Kranti Dal (BKD) 117
- Bilaspur 39, 42, 204
- Biological Survival 72, 81
- BJP 34, 118, 169, 193
- Block Development Administration 43
- Brahmins 48, 49, 91, 128, 158, 180, 181, 185-87, 207
- Brahmins, Nairs, Ezhavas in Kerala 91-92
- CARE 42, 93, 94
- Caste 83
 - influence of 83, non-Harijan 87, discrimination 210, Political and economic power 91-2, 211-2
- Caste and class 84, 85, 87-92, 210
- Caste hierarchy 83, 87-92
- Caste Panchayat of Chamars 58, 209
- Caste and purity and pollution, 83, 210
- Caste and Occupation 28
- Chmars 85, 87
- Chhatra Parishad 114-115
- Childbirths and child-deaths 29, 130-1
- Christians 42, 93 Harijan Christians 42, Roman Catholics 93, 94, Lutheran Church 94
- Class interest 210
- Community Development Programme 31
- Congress 33, 118
- Congress (I) 161, 165, 167, 170, 180
- Congress (O) 116
- Congress (R) 116, 118, 119
- Co-operatives 31
- CPI 34, 117
- CPI-M 33, 64, 105, 116, 153, 170, 171, 180
- Coyalmanam 6, 31, 180
- Culture of poverty 38, 137, 214

- Dakshin Duttapara 6, 31, 177-8
 Data 8-23
 Required data 8, Method of collection 9, Process 10, Sequence 13, Analysis of 15, Objectivity, value and biases 16, Compulsion 21, Limitations 24, Social and economic profiles 24-35
 DMK 144, 162, 168
 Elected Representatives 33
 Voting preferences 33-34
 Elections 162-172
 voting behaviour 163
 Emergency 18, 20
 Excess 19
 Family Planning 19, 145, 147-150, 156
 Family Welfare 152
 Field work 17
 'Food for work' 155, 161
 Forward Bloc 34, 117
 Gambhoi 6, 25, 31, 52, 197
 Green Revolution Villages 30, 39, 48
 Gujarat 5, 20, 21, 27, 43, 119-120
 Haryana 5, 20, 43
 Haringhata (Barajaguli) 7, 25, 31, 175-7
 Health Culture 1
 concept of 2
 Hindus 41
 Hunger Satisfaction 1, 29
 Implications of the study 213-224
 Jadigenhalli 6, 26, 31, 182-4
 Janata Party 152 164, 169
 Job reservation 129
 Kachhona 25, 27, 45, 205-6
 Kalur 27, 187-8
 Kamdevpur 7, 31, 178
 Karnataka 5, 17, 21, 43
 Kerala 5, 21, 43, 174
 Kisan Rally 193, 205
 Labour Union of landless 104
 Landholding 29
 Lok Sabha Elections (1977) 20
 —elections (1980) 21
 Mass Media 31
 Medical anthropology 216
 Mem (Saab) 68, 106
 Mobility 31
 Muslims 34, 42, 46, 77, 92, 176, 180
 Islamic schools 42
 Navnirman Samiti movement 7
 Naxalbari movement 114
 Panchayati Raj 96, 111
 Panchayats 110, mummified 'corpus' 110
 Patels 86
 Pazhambalakode 7, 26, 31, 32, 40, 77, 178
 Population growth 138, 141
 Census 1971-81 139;
 among Muslims and Christians 140
 Poverty, class and health culture 1
 Poverty 54, 57, 80, 209, 220
 measuring poverty 54, biological implications of 209, 220
 Poverty and power 57, Poverty in rural India 80, definition of 210
 Power structure and social equilibrium 61
 Primary Health Centre (PHC) 4, 36, 43
 rural health service 4
 Pullambadi 6, 7, 26, 27, 32, 207
 Purposive intervention 2
 Rajasthan 117
 Rampura 7, 46, 191-2
 Rohat 7, 31, 32, 188-91
 Rohota 25, 26, 27, 202-4
 Rupal 7, 31, 192-6
 Social change (1972-81) 136
 Study population 4-9
 Linguistic zones 5
 States 5, Villages 5-9, 175-207
 Castes 87-95, Religious groups and class 81-95, Social and economic profiles 123-35,
 Special categories 123
 Sunni 25, 27, 206
 Tamil Nadu 116

- 20-point and 5-point
 programmes 144, 150, 160
 Uttar Pradesh 5, 17, 20
 Villages
 ecological condition 37,
 dependence on cities 37,
 education 38, corruption 39,
 casteism 40, privileged classes 41,
 power structure and community participation 44, 54, 69,
 moneylending 45,
 industrialization 47-51,
 transport and communication 50
 entertainment 51-53,
 development activities 98,
 leadership 98, 99-103,
 Administrative system :
 traditional institutions,
 statutory institutions and the
 govt. machinery 105
 Villages and their institutions 36-53
 Village poor 71-72
 Voting behaviour 132
 West Bengal 114, 115, 117
 United Front ministry 114
 Western Reference Frame 213
 Yelwal 6, 7, 27, 32, 47, 184-7

